CONFIDENTIAL.]

REPORT

ON

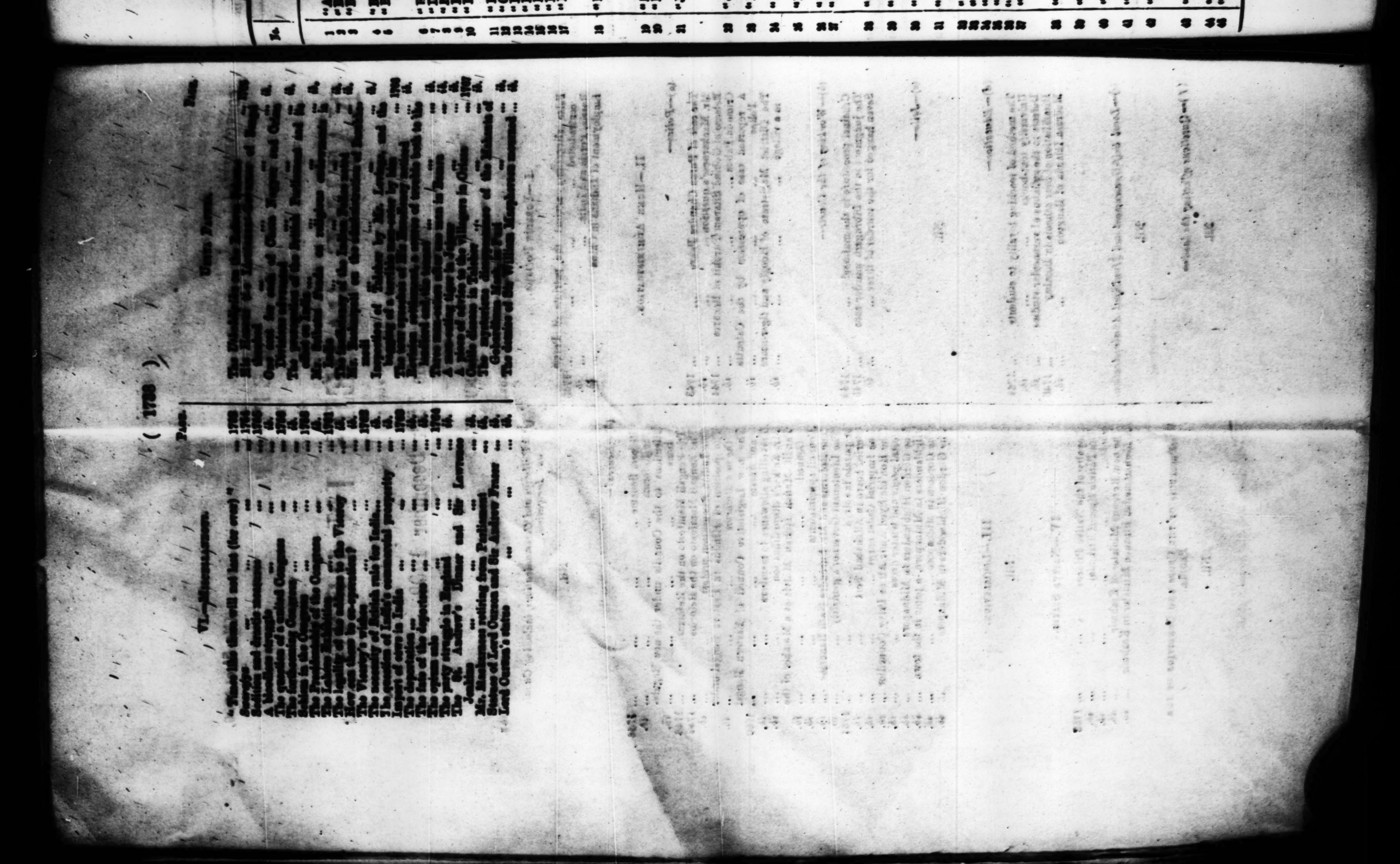
NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 25th December 1909.

CONTENTS.

	Para.
I.—Foreign Politics.	
False allegations against the patriots of Persia contradicted	1742
Russia, Persia and India	ib.
Employment of Indians in China	ib.
II.—Home Administration.	
(a)—Police—	
The case of Purna Chandra Pakre	1743
Mr. Mackarness's question	ib.
Release of Gobind Sitaram Purohit of Benares ...	1744
Crime in Pabna	ib.
A reported case of oppression by the Calcutta Police	ib.
The District Magistrate of Hoogly and tiger-scare in a village	ib.
(b)—Working of the Courts—	
Criminal procedure in the mufassal	1744
The judgment in the Dibrugarh murder case ...	1745
Seven hanged for the murder of three	ib.
(c)—Jails—	
Nil.	
(d)—Education—	
The method of teaching loyalty to students ...	1746
University text-books	ib.
Defects in the syllabus of vernacular studies ...	ib.
Disaffiliation of four schools in Bombay ...	1746
Madrasa Islamia of Rangoon	ib.
(e)—Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.	
Nil.	
(f)—Questions affecting the land—	
Nil.	
(g)—Railways and Communications, including Canals and Irrigation.	
Nil.	
(h)—General—	
Reform Scheme	1746
The Reforms	ib.
Elections to the Councils under the new Regulations	ib.
Anti-Bengali Manifesto on the Reforms ...	1747
Anti-Bengali Manifesto on the Reforms ...	1748
The Indian Association protest	ib.
The petition of Hindus in Eastern Bengal against the new Reforms	ib.
The new Legislative Council of Eastern Bengal and Assam	1749
Travelling allowance to members	ib.
Mr. Keller's disqualification	ib.
Nomination of Maulvi Rahim Mahvis as a Member of the Council	ib.
Council appointments	ib.
The Reforms and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea ...	ib.
The Lieutenant-Governor's geniality	1750
A puzzle is solved	ib.
Postal hamal in Allahabad Fort	ib.
The Imperial Cadet corps	ib.
The Hon'ble Syud Amir Ali on Privy Councillor ...	ib.
Postal peons and winter dress	ib.
The Gordon Highlanders in Midnapore ...	ib.
Highlanders in Midnapore, a panic in the town ...	ib.
The Gordons in Midnapore	ib.
The Gordon Highlanders in Midnapore ...	ib.
III.—Legislation.	
Nil.	
IV.—Native States.	
Loyalty of the Native Princes	1752
The Patiala Special Tribunal	ib.
Nil	ib.
The new Revenue Minister of Kashmir ...	ib.
A Mahomedan Finance Minister in Kashmir ...	ib.
V.—Failures of the Crops and Condition of the People.	
Nil.	



LIST OF NEWSPAPERS,

[*As it stood on the 1st January 1906.*]

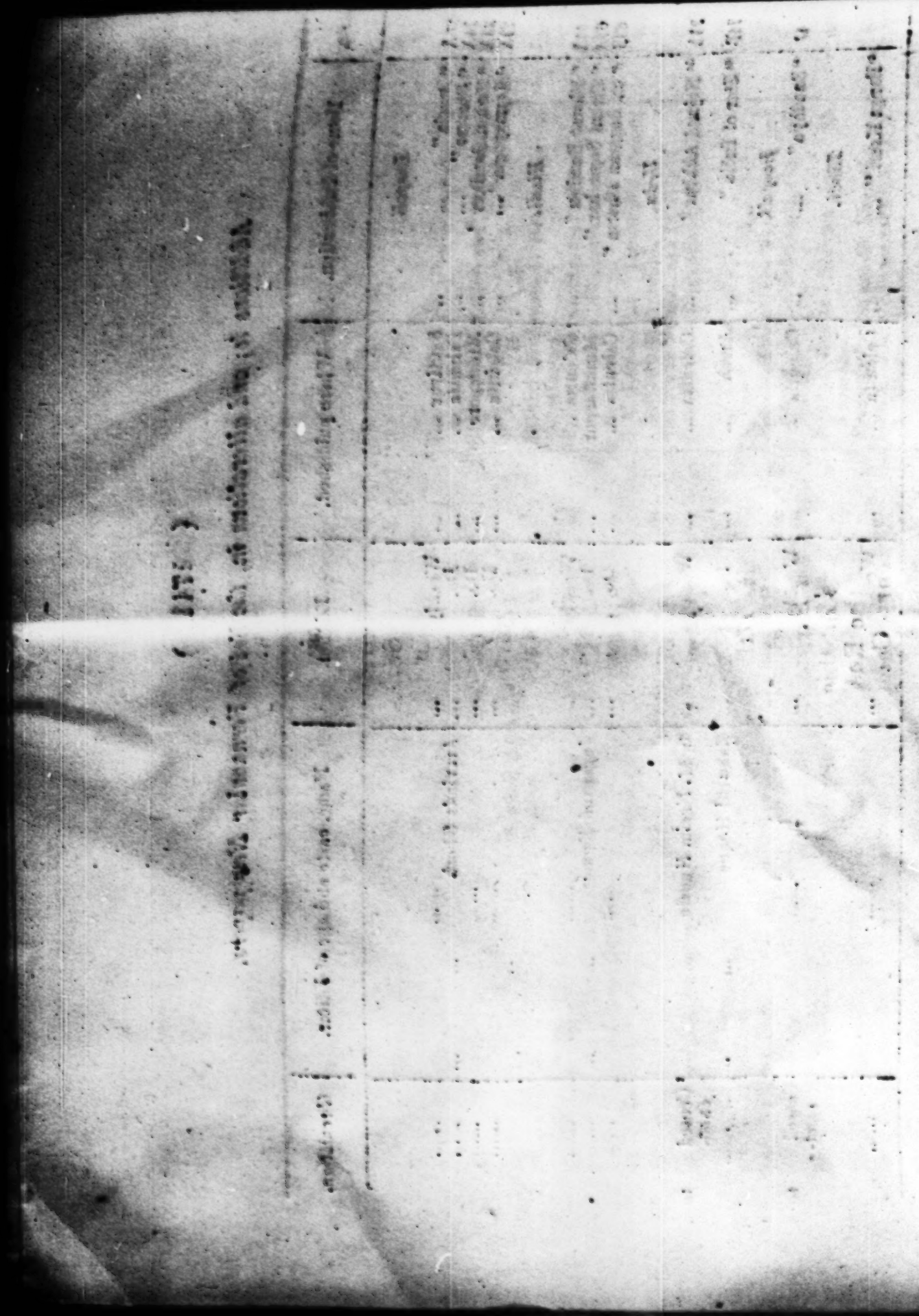
No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Bengali.				
1	"Amrita Bazar Patrika" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly ...	.....	1,000
2	"Bangabasi" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Surendra Lal Mukerjea, age 27, Hindu	500
3	"Bangabhumi" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Gata contributions from different writers.	500
4	"Bangavasi" ...	Bauaghat ...	Do. ...	Kanai Lal Das, age 25, Kayastha	100
5	"Bangavasi" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Rakhal Lal Sarkar, age 35, Kayastha; Hari Mohan Mukerji, age 41, Brahmin; and Durga Das Lahiri.	10,000
6	"Bankura Darpan" ...	Bankura	Do. ...	Bhuvanath Maitraji, B.L.	712
7	"Basumati"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Bankim Prasad Ghose, age 37, Hindu	12,000
8	"Bharat Chitra" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	.....	
9	"Bidhumukhi Hitaishi" ...	Suri	Do. ...	Rajendra Sen, age 24, Baidya.	200
10	"Birbhum Varta" ...	Do.	Do. ...	Debendra Nath Chakravarti, age 36, Brahmin.	300
11	"Burdwan Sanjivani" ...	Burdwan	Do. ...	Prabodhananda Sarkar	950
12	"Chinsura Vartavaha" ...	Chinsura	Do. ...	Dinanath Maitraji, age 42, Brahmin	650
13	"Daily Hitavadi" ...	Calcutta	Daily ...	.....	
14	"Dainik Chandrika" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Hari Dass Dutt, age 37, Kayastha ...	300
15	"Dharma-o-Karma" ...	Ditto	Monthly ...	.....	
16	"Education Gazette" ...	Chinsura	Weekly ...	Shibnath Banerji, M.A., B.L.	1,000
17	"Ehata"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Hari Dhan Kundu (Principal scientific botanical assistant, Botanic Gardens, Shibpur, Howrah.	1,700
18	"Hitavadi"	Ditto	Do. ...	Punah Kanyal Banerji, Jaladhar Sen, age 46, Hindu; and Jogendra Kumar Chatterjee of Chandernagore, and Monindranath Bose of Okhita.	20,000
19	"Hindusthan"	Ditto	Do. ...	Hari Das Dutt, age 37, Kayastha ...	1,000
20	"Howrah Hitaishi" ...	Howrah	Do. ...	Girispati Kaliprasanna, age 36, Kayastha.	2,500
21	"Jagaran"	Bagerhat ...	Do. ...	Bakari Lal Roy, age 46, Kayastha; Beni Madhab Ganguly, age 36, Brahmin; and Manmatha Nath Roy, age 32, Brahmin.	600
22	"Jessohar"	Jessore	Do. ...	Ananda Mohan Chaudhury, age 24, Kayastha.	800
23	"Kalyani"	Magura	Do. ...	Bisweswar Mukherjee, age 44, Brahmin; and Tarak Brahma Sikdar, Kayastha.	1,500
24	"Khulnavasi"	Khulna	Do. ...	Gopal Chandra Mukerjee, age 30, Brahmin.	300
25	"Manbhum"	Purulia	Do. ...	Bagala Chandra Ghosh, age 36, Kayastha.	300
26	"Matribhumi"	Chandernagore ...	Do. ...	Surendra Nath Sen, age 32, Hindu ...	600
27	"Mihir-o-Sudhakar" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	Sayyid Osman of Bairhat, age 36; and Maulvi Reyazuddin Ahmad of Kanya.	4,000
28	"Murshidabad Hitaishi" ...	Saidabad	Do. ...	Basanta Lal Goswami, age 44, Brahmin.	100
29	"Nadia"	Krishnagar	Do. ...	Sunil Kumar Maitra, age 28, Brahmin.	800
30	"Navajivani-o-Swadeshi Christian."	Calcutta	Tri-Weekly ...	Revd. Lall Behari Shah, age 50, Native Christian.	300
31	"Nayak"	Ditto	Daily and Bi-Weekly.	.....	600
32	"Nihar"	Contai	Weekly ...	Madan Sudhan Jana, age 40	200
33	"Nivedan"	Calcutta	Do. ...		
34	"Palliverta"	Bongong	Do. ...	Charu Ch. Roy, age 24, Kayastha ...	400
35	"Pallivasi"	Kalna	Do. ...	Sasi Bhusan Banerji, age 42, Brahmin	600
36	"Prabhat"	Calcutta	Monthly ...		
37	"Pravan"	Katwa	Weekly ...	Purna Chandra Chatterji, age 42; and Benku Behari Ghose, age 38; Gosle.	600
38	"Pratikar"	Berhampore ...	Do. ...	Kanahiya Prasad Ganguli, age 60, Brahmin.	100
39	"Prava"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Mahendra Nath Chakravarti, age 30, Brahmin.	300
40	"Prabhat"	Ditto	Do. ...	Sailendra Nath Chatterjee, age 26, Brahmin.	300
41	"Purulia Darpan" ...	Purulia	Do. ...	Amulya Ratan Chatterjee, age 27, Brahmin.	300
42	"Ratnakar"	Asansol	Do. ...	Rakhal Chandra Chakravarti, age 26, Brahmin; and Gopal Chandra Mitra, age 26, Kayastha.	600
43	"Samaj Darpan" ...	Saltia	Do. ...	Satya Charan Banerjee, age 28, Brahmin.	1,200
44	"Samay"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Ganendra Nath Das, age 24, Brahmin	800
45	"Sammilani"	Serampore ...	Do. ...	.....	

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS—concluded.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Bengali—contd.				
46	"Sinwal Farasbandhaya"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	Pandit Chandra Chatterji, age 46, Brahmin.	60
47	"Sanjivani"	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	Shiva Nath Sastri and Ramananda Chatterjee.	7,000
48	"Sarika"	Diamond Harbour ...	Monthly ...	Moulvi Mohammad Nesharuna of Chittagong.	1,000
49	"Salam"	Calcutta ...	Weekly ...	Baboo Hem Gupta, age 28, Baidya.	2,000
50	"Soma Bhasya" ...	Howrah ...	Do. ...	Basik Mohan Nankarvasi, age 37, Brahmin.	2,000
51	"Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Amrita Bazar Patrika"	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	S. C. Lahiri, Pat. Lovett and Pandit Satyesh Bidyaratna.	500
52	"Swadesh"	Ditto ...	Da. ...	Shiv Nath Sastri, age 36, Hindu ...	250
53	"Tamalika" ...	Tamluk ...	Do. ...	Hem Chandra Neg, age 36, Kayastha.	500
54	"Twenty-four Pargana Vartika."	Shewrafuli	Do. ...		744
	Hindi.				743
55	"Bharat Mitra" ...	Calcutta ...	Weekly ...	Mahabir Prasad, age 28, Vaisya; and Amrita Lal Chakravarti, age 40, Brahmin.	2,000
56	"Bihar Bandhu" ...	Bankipore ...	Do. ...	Handa Kumar Sharma, age 36, Kayastha.	600
57	"Bir Bharat"	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Prakash Datta, age 28, Kayastha.	250
58	"Ghar Bandhu"	Benares ...	Fortnightly ...	Rev. R. Muller, Superintendent, C. E. L. Mission, Benares.	1,000
59	"Gyansudey"	Calcutta ...	Monthly ...	.....	Never received.
60	"Jain Gajat"	Arrah ...	Weekly ...	Printed and published in the United Provinces.	Ceased to exist.
61	"Jain Pratap" ...	Calcutta ...	Monthly ...	.....	
62	"Hindi Bangavasi" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	Hari Kissan Jouhar, age 29, Khatri.	4,000
63	"Hitvarta"	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Rao Purandhar, age 28, Mahratta Brahmin.	2,000
64	"Lakshmi Upadesh Lahri"	Gaya ...	Monthly ...	.....	500
65	"Marwari"	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	R. K. Tekriwala, age 24, Hindu Agarwalla.	
66	"Marwari Bandhu" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	.....	Ceased to exist. Circ. 250.
67	"Nayanagha"	Ditto ...	Monthly ...	.....	
68	"Shikshak"	Arrah ...	Weekly ...	Gobharan Singh, age 28, Babhan ...	
	Persian.				
69	"Nami-Muqaddas-Habibul Matin."	Calcutta ...	Weekly ...	Syed Jalaluddin al-Hussini, Muhammadan.	
	Urdu.			.....	
70	"Ayin-i-chasm Gayb" ...	Bankipore ...	Weekly ...	.....	No issue received.
71	"Al Punch"	Ditto ...	Do. ...		No issue received.
72	"Bihar Gazette" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Murad Ali Khan, age 48	250
73	"Dur-us Saltanat" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Qazi Abdul Latif, age 36, Muhammadan.	
74	"Khawah Mokhah Punch"	Gaya ...	Do. ...	.....	Ceased to exist.
	Uriya.				
75	"Gurjatbasini"	Talcher ...	Weekly ...	Bhagi Ruth Misra, age 40, Brahmin.	
76	"Mukurnya"	Kujipada ...	Do. ...	.....	
77	"Nilachal Samachar" ...	Puri ...	Do. ...	Baidya Nath Singh, age 31, Punjabi Dissertation Publisher.	600
78	"Sambalpur Hitaishini" ...	Sambalpur ...	Do. ...	Harish Chandra Sarkar, age 32, Sadgop.	250
79	"Samvad Vahika" ...	Balasore ...	Do. ...	Ram Tarak Sen, age 47, Tamuli ...	700
80	"Utkal Dipika"	Cuttack ...	Do. ...	.....	250
81	"Utkal Durpan"	Sambalpur ...	Do. ...	Gouri Sankar Ray, age 76	600
82	"Utkal Sakti"	Cuttack ...	Do. ...	.....	250
83	"Utkal Vartika"	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Mani Lall Mohanty, age 46, Hindu Karanbar.	600
84		Ditto ...	Do. ...		

Additions to, and alterations in, the list of Vernacular Newspapers.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Bengali.				
1A	"Bangla"	Santipur	Weekly ...	.....	.....
14A	"Dhakaa"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Aravinda Ghosh	.....
21A	"Kshitii Suchhar" ...	Midnapore ...	Do. ...	.....	.....
23A	"Lamapyogin"	Calcutta	Do. ...	.....	.....
	Hindi.				
14A	"Bharat Bandhu" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	.....
62A	"Tirhut Samachar" ...	Muzaffarpur ...	Do. ...	Jagmandi Kumar	.....
62B	"Sri Sanatan Dharm" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	.....	.....
	Urdu.				
74A	"Nejumul Akhbar" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	S. M. Nasim Husain	Ceased publn. in
74B	"Star of India" ...	Arrah	Do. ...	Zahurul Hoque	.....
	Bengali.				
47	"Sandhya"	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	Ceased publn. in
	Hindi.				
	"Durga Kunj"	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	.....



I.—Foreign Politics.

False allegations against the patriots of Persia contradicted.

Is quoting an article on the recent disturbances in Persia contributed to the *Wake* by its correspondent at Teheran, in which the recent depredations have been pointed out as the creation of Sardar Asad and Sipahdar Azam, who have been alleged to be working for increasing the power and influence of Russia and England in Persia, the *Nawai Muqaddas Habibul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 13th December sees the secret hand of the malicious Royalists in writings of this k nd, who, it says, have been trying to gain their object by circulating false allegations against the staunch national leaders, and thus exciting the nation against the true patriots.

Nawai Muqaddas Habibul Matin, Dec. 13th, 1909.

The paper emphatically contradicts writings of this kind, on the ground that the leaders have throughout the struggle sacrificed their own life and property for the good of the nation.

The paper adds that the situation in Persia is in every way full of hope for the Persians, and that the foreign troops will shortly evacuate the country.

Russia, Persia and India.

2. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 17th December writes:—

Even Russia, that hot bed of Anarchism and Nihilism, has got a Parliament, and, what is more, there is quite a goodly number of revolutionists in this Parliament. England is in favour of the Russian Parliament, and the Russian revolutionaries were accorded a hearty welcome by the late Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman during their visit to England. The Persian revolutionists are also looked upon by England with eyes of favour. But in India the English make it a point to keep down the popular power, because it serves their self-interest to do so.

Dainik Chandrika, Dec. 17th, 1909.

Employment of Indians in China.

3. Seeing that the Chinese Government, which has hitherto been recruiting Indians, Sikhs, Gurkhas and Rajputs for Police service, has now resolved to form a regiment of Sikh cavalry and Gurkha infantry, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 18th December warns the English by reminding them that the Indian soldiers had turned faithless to their Musalman rulers when the English wanted to obtain the Government of this country.

Bharat Mitra, Dec. 18th, 1909.

II.—Home Administration.

(a)—Police.

The case of Purna Chandra Pakre.

4. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 17th December has the following:—

"A Bengali arrested again. A French subject and Government."

Our Chandernagore correspondent writes:—

The people here have been greatly upset by the report published in the newspapers of the arrest at Madras of Purna Chandra Pakre, the son of Taraprasad Pakre of Baghbazar, Chandernagore. Purna Chandra is a lad who, having passed the certificate examination from the French department of the Dupleix College, Chandernagore, obtained a scholarship. Since securing that scholarship, he has been staying for about four or five years now at Pondicherry, studying law at the College there. Having been accustomed occasionally to visit Madras, he lately travelled to that town with a Bengali youth, when he was arrested. The representatives of Chandernagore on the General Council are now at Pondicherry in connection with a meeting of that body. Taraprasad Babu, immediately on receiving news of the arrest of his son, wired to Benamali Pal, one of the Chandernagore representatives now at Pondicherry. A telegraphic reply has been received to this wire from Pondicherry, stating that Benamali Babu, on hearing of Purna Chandra's arrest from his associate, applied forthwith to the Pondicherry Government, drawing their attention to Purna Chandra's arrest.

Hitavadi, Dec. 17th, 1909.

Mr. Macharness's question.

5. The *Dharma* [Calcutta] of the 20th December says that the Master of Elibank found it easy to crush Mr. Macharness's question on the Midnapur affair, because

Dharma, Dec. 20th, 1909.

Mr. Mackerness had insulted Mr. Weston, a Magistrate, among Police officers. Every one believes that Mr. Weston was the root of the whole Midnapore affair. Government, however, did not think it necessary to refer to the point. Neither does it think it necessary to inform the public of the result of the Macpherson Commission.

HINDU RANJAVALI, Dec. 20th, 1909.

Release of Govind Sitaram Purohit of Benares.

6. The *Hindu Ranjavali* [Calcutta] of the 20th December is very glad to hear that Government has shaken off the odium on itself by releasing Govind Sita Ram Purohit of Benares, who had been cooped up within the walls of the Agra Jail, on his furnishing a bond of Rs. 100 to be of good behaviour.

BASUMATI, Dec. 18th 1909.

Crime in Pabna.

7. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 15th December hopes that the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam will take steps to prevent the recurrence of horrible outrages like the recent desecration of the image of a Hindu god in the village of Murail in Bogra immediately after the holding of a *say* in that place by a Mymensingh Maulvi.

DAILY HITAVADI, Dec. 16th, 1909

A reported case of oppression by the Calcutta Police.

8. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 18th December draws the attention of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to a petition submitted by one Nanilal Bairagi, a workman in the Indian Jute Mills. One afternoon as Nanilal came out of the mill premises with nothing about his person but his clothing, a constable arrested him and took him to the local thana. There he was beaten and charged with theft of an ingot which the constable produced. Nanilal remained confined in *hajat* the whole night, and was on the next morning taken to the mill authorities. The latter testified to the good character and honesty of Nanilal, and said the ingot produced by the police did not belong to the factory. But still the police did not release Nanilal. His house was searched. He was handcuffed, a rope was tied round his waist, and at last he was hauled up for trial in the Sealdah Police Magistrate's Court. The Magistrate found him innocent and acquitted him. The petitioner now hopes that he will get justice and redress at the hands of the Commissioner of Police.

BANGAVASI, Dec. 18th, 1909.

The District Magistrate of Hoogly and tiger-scare in a village.

9. A correspondent of the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 18th December says that on the inhabitants of Guptipara, in the Hooghly district, bringing it to the notice of the District Magistrate that a tiger is infesting the village and has killed a number of villagers, the Magistrate has issued an order to the effect that the villagers must clear the jungles on their respective lands within a week on pain of being fined Rs. 5 each in case of default. It is complained that this order has created a scare greater than that created by the tiger itself.

(b)—*Working of the Courts.*

KHULNAVASI, Dec. 16th, 1909

Criminal procedure in the mufussal.

10. The *Khulnavasi* [Khulna] of the 4th December laments that Magistrates in the mufussal seldom hold local inquiries now-a-days, and prefer to rely on police reports though cases are not infrequent of these reports and those of Presidents of Panchaits being proved subsequently to be false and intentionally biassed. This complaint has special reference to proceedings drawn up by Magistrates under section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The paper also complains that the depositions of witnesses recorded in English are now translated into the vernacular before being read out to them for their signature not by the Magistrate, but by a semi-ignorant Peshkar and Bench-clerk. Further, most Magistrates have a way of refusing adjournments even for the production of witnesses considered most necessary by the parties, unless the police happen to be the party asking for such adjournment. Another direction in which the police offend in regard to Criminal justice in this country, is in delaying to send up reports called for by Magistrates in pending

cases. These delays are tolerated; but whenever a private party fails to turn up on an appointed day, his case is struck off the file promptly.

11. Referring to the sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment passed by the High Court on T. L. Edwards, who was accused of having caused the death of a native named Radhoo in the Dibrugarh district, the *Nayak* [Chinsura] of the 19th December says that it cannot be expected that a *Feringhee* should receive a heavier punishment for murdering a black Bengali.

The judgment in the Dibrugarh murder case.

Hindu, Dec. 20th, 1909.

12. The heart trembles to hear that seven persons have been hanged to death for the murder of only three persons, viz., the police-officer, his servant and a constable, in Shahabad, says the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 20th December.

Seven hanged for the murder of three.

Hindi Bangavasi, Dec. 20th, 1909.

(d)—Education.

13. In noticing that the students are to be made to take the oath of loyalty to Government before taking their admission to the Kshatrya High School of Benares, the foundation-stone of which has been laid by Sir John Hewett, the *Sitala* [Arrah] of the 16th December says that the best method of teaching loyalty to the students is to tell them anecdotes, stories, etc., based on loyalty, a task which can be easily performed by the teachers. Some of the schools have adopted this method with a good result. Some educated men think that the number of disloyal students in any school not being large, strict watch should be kept on them so that they may not mislead the others.

The method of teaching loyalty to students.

Sitala, Dec. 16th, 1909.

14. In referring to the recent publication of the names of a number of books recommended for study in connection with the different University examinations, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 17th December complains, that although the study of these books is only recommended and is not obligatory, as a matter of fact, students are compelled to buy all of them and also to study all of them; thus a system of cram which the University professes to discourage has been revived on a big scale.

University text-books.

Daily Hitavadi, Dec. 17th, 1909.

15. Writing on the new scheme of vernacular education promulgated by the Calcutta University, the *Alpanah* [Bankipore] of the 18th December has the following:—

Defects in the syllabus of vernacular studies.

Alpanah, Dec. 18th 1909

The people had hoped that the system of education would be simplified by the change; but along with the method of teaching, the courses of studies too have undergone a revision, and books have been written in the mother-tongue of each community. The unlucky Musalmans too have their habitation under the jurisdiction of this University. Far from undergoing a change for the better, their fate appears to be sealed. It is not the information but the knowledge of the mother-tongue which is aimed at in the new scheme, and as a means for the realisation of this end Readers have been written in the mother-tongue and introduced up to the 5th class of the High schools. On promotion to higher classes the boys have to sacrifice their study of Persian and Arabic, for books prescribed for those classes are such as cannot be easily understood even by their compilers. It seems that Persian courses have not been compiled for the study of boys. Up to the 5th class the previous time of the boys is wasted in the reading of such nonsensical books as a Geography Reader, a Science Reader, a History Reader and an Urdu course. On reaching the 4th class the boys are compelled to raise on their shoulders heavy loads of Persian and Arabic learning. Can they then acquire any knowledge at all?

We are surprised to find why some Musalmans who had access to the University at the time of the formation of the new scheme did not protest against the introduction of the Urdu syllabus and suggest the introduction of Persian and Arabic Readers by the study of which Urdu could be learnt automatically. The reason why no protest was entered at the time is that national interest was sacrifed for personal gain. Everyone found the

writing of books and getting them included in the list of the prescribed course a lucrative business.

The compilers of the Entrance course, instead of judging the capacity of the students, exhibited their own abilities, and selected pieces from the difficult compositions of well known authors and poets and compiled a book thereof. They are glad at having prepared a good course, although they have in fact shown a *veiled* hostility to the Musalmans. When 15 books were recommended for the study of the English syllabus, why a few books even were not recommended for the study of the Persian syllabus? There ought to have been consistence in the standard of testing the general knowledge of the boys in the different subjects.

HINDU RANJAVATI, Dec. 20th, 1909.

16. Referring to the recent orders of the Government disaffiliating four Maharastra schools on the ground of adopting objectionable methods of teaching, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 20th December asks:—

Disaffiliation of four schools in Bombay.

Did Government make any endeavours to cure the defects in the schools before?

ALIPANCH, Dec. 16th, 1909.

17. "A well-wisher of Islam at Rangoon" contributes an article to the *Alipanch* [Bankipore] of the 18th December, in which he notices certain defects in the management of the Madrasa Islamia of Rangoon, and attributes the evils complained of to mismanagement on the part of its Secretary.

Madrasa Islamia of Rangoon.

(A)—*General.*

ALIPANCH, Dec. 16th, 1909.

18. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Government for its having conceded to the Muhammadans the right of a separate election of their representatives on the Councils, says the *Alipanch* [Bankipore] of the 10th December. India has been used to despotic rule since the beginning of the creation; this is the reason why everyone here tries to trample down the public and national interests, and push forward his own, and thus deprives the nation as well as himself of the benefits of any reform introduced by Government. Lord Ripon conceded the right of local self-government to the Indians as an experiment; but it has resulted in nothing but disunion among them.

Reform Scheme.

The question at issue, however, is: What is the good which the Muhammadans have contemplated to accrue from the separate election of their members? If the only good is that a few Muhammadans will have the honour to take their seats as members on the Councils what would then be the fate of the national interests? As many candidates have appeared on the stage and are making extravagant efforts to secure votes in their favour, it would have been better if a general meeting were convened at each centre in order to nominate unanimously only those of the candidates who would not consider their own interests as preferable to those of the nation. In this way they would have benefited the nation, and secured honour and esteem for themselves.

BASUMATI, Dec. 18th, 1909.

19. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 18th December reiterates the complaint that the educated middle class have not been given separate direct representation on the new Councils as the zemindars and Musalmans have. The indirect election by the Municipalities and District Boards is only a modification of the system of nomination, inasmuch as it does not like direct election possess any value in giving the voters a political education.

The Reforms.

Continuing, the paper protests against the adoption of a property qualification in preference to educational qualification for the franchise in the case of zemindars and of the special Musalman constituencies. In European countries such a property basis exists, but in these countries property almost always co-exists with a high general culture, while in India it is exactly the reverse.

DHARMA, Dec. 15th, 1909.

20. The *Dharma* [Calcutta] of the 13th December writes:—

Elections to the Councils under the new Regulations.

The spirit, adherence to truth and political insight which Eastern Bengal has been showing from the very outset, have not been impaired either

by rejection or by the temptation held out under the Reform Scheme—they remain as they were. In Faridpur not a single Hindu came forward as candidate; in Dacca only one Hindu appeared to have been captivated by Morley's spell: of the four who came forward in Mymensingh to enjoy this royal favour, two came to their senses in time and retired, and it is to be hoped that the other two also will choose the better path. The most strange thing is that Barisal, associated with Aswini Kumar though it is, has been intoxicated by the wine of reform, and is shamelessly dancing to Morley's tune. Why this folly? Why this insult to banished Aswinikumar? The god of Barisal is confined in a British prison, suffering from a severe complaint, and yet without cause, deprived of the ministration of his friends and relatives, and yet Barisal forgetting him is selling herself to the embraces of the officials. Fie! Barisal should get rid of this evil disposition quickly, lest Bengal should mock her that in vain has Aswini Kumar shown to her by his own teaching and example what realness is; in vain has he ultimately sacrificed himself for the good of the country.

Western Bengal never takes up a middle course of action—it exhibits the highest examples of the spirit which may actuate it from time to time. If it has the foremost lion-hearted men of spirit, it has also a pack of shameless sycophants. The men who are eagerly bestirring themselves to occupy the foremost place in the forthcoming elections are mostly men unknown to the country at large, deserving of no respect—a pack of selfish sycophants. If they crowd into the Legislative Council, the country stands neither to gain nor to lose—only the assembly will be converted into a sort of zoological gardens full of flatterers—no other evil effects will be produced. But we are sorry to see the names of one or two men honoured by the country among them. Is Babu Baikunthanath Sen so little esteemed in Bengal, that he is at last driven to this struggle to enter the Council amidst this crowd? Why does Baikuntha Babu court humiliation in this fashion in old age? Is admission into a zoological garden (as an inmate) so much to be desired?

On the whole the effect of Morley's policy must be said to have been beneficial. Lord Curzon, India's foremost friend and benefactor, roused the sleeping nation by partitioning Bengal, and dispelled their deep ignorance. As for the work remaining to be done, our well-wisher Morley, by his constitutional Reforms, has removed all apprehensions of the old spell returning, the old sleep coming on again. Even they upon whom the blow of the partition of Bengal did not fall have been cut to the quick by this chastisement, and are being roused by it. The entire Hindu community realising now the inefficacy of a policy of dependence on others, will ere long rally round the banner of Nationalism. The zamindars and the Musalmans remain on the side of the officials. Let us see how long they can so remain. We pray to God that yet another English benefactor of ours may get into his head some new project which will have the good effect of rousing the zamindars and the Musalmans fully to their senses. This faith of the national party will not be a vain one. When God is on our side, the efforts of our opponents, having effects contrary to those intended, will aid in the accomplishment of our ends.

A good many Europeans, high and low, have come forward at this crisis to give good advice to Indians regarding the Reforms, and among them our most popular and benevolent Viceroy also has charmed our ears with the nectar of advice issuing from his revered lips. All say the same thing—see what a fine baby has been born here—do not you find petty faults in this manner with its incomparable beauty, rather assist in fattening it by feeding the darling with the nectar of your co-operation, and then the defects will disappear of themselves. It is natural and excusable that the progenitor of this baby will praise it like this and try to hide its defects. But the fact is that while some petty defects in this baby would be nothing to speak of, its whole body is semi-corrupt, it has been born with heart disease, bowel complaints and phthisis—the darling will not live, and is not fit to live either, so it is kinder, instead of allowing it to live in suffering in vain, to relieve it of its miseries by suffocating it under the pillow of boycott. If thereby we incur the sin of cruelly murdering an infant, we are ready to face purgatory therefor. We are curious, however, to know one thing—we have heard what the darling's father Lord Minto has to say about it; but why is the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who may be said to be

its mother, silently owing it hold up to scorn? Perhaps he is now in the state of emotional impudity which follows the act of giving birth to a child, and will come out amongst the public again after the period of impudity is over.

Anent the disqualifying of Mr. N. C. Kelkar for the Bombay Council, the same paper writes:—The Reforms are gradually revealing their true aspect: let the people fully realise it and decide on their duty.

Dawn Swadhin, Dec. 16th, 1908.

The Bengali Manifesto on the Reforms.

21. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 15th December writes:—

Certain Bengali veteran leaders like Dr. Rash Bihari Ghosh and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji have published a Manifesto in protest against the Reforms. This Manifesto contains an explanation as to why the leading members of the English educated community in Bengal have not sought admission into the expanded Councils. As it is always desirable that the truth should be told straight, we feel bound to say that this explanation does not satisfy us. It is lacking in the full expression either of the keenness of a protest, or of the spiritedness of a bit of straight speaking, or of a proud consciousness of the strength of the people. Neither on the other hand is there any generous co-operation with the good intentions of Government. We hold that a protest professing to be that of the educated community of Bengal should be characterised by straight-forwardness and spiritedness in utterance.

We admit that the leaders of the educated community will be put to some inconvenience if they have to seek admission into the Councils under the new scheme. But the Manifesto does not state in clear and unequivocal language the radical basis of this inconvenience. Neither has it been explained quite distinctly what exact Regulation it is which has brought about this state of things, and how. Thus it is left open to Government to urge that the leaders of the educated community can easily seek to be returned by the District Boards and Municipalities and by the zamindars. Indeed, this is the position which the *Englishman* has taken up. But there is this to be said against this view of things—the men whom we honour as leaders in Bengal may be said to have no influence at all in Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Again, even in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, if the zamindars bestir themselves, the signatories to the Manifesto would be left without any *locus standi*. Even Dr. Rash Bihary Ghosh would be swept away, if the Maharajas of Burdwan, Kasimbazar and Nadia seek election. The new Reform Scheme has made this much clear, that if English education and civilisation, for the sake of which the Bengali respectable middle classes have staked their all, and which Government itself has not hesitated to encourage and support, be treated with little regard, Government will be failing in the discharge of one of its prime duties. The educated community in this country have always been interpreters between the masses of the population and the rulers, have always been messengers of good-will between these two. All the Viceroys from Lord Lawrence to Lord Ripon have treated the educated community with cordiality. Only recently Lord Minto, speaking at Madras, asked for the assistance of the political associations formed by the educated community in the work of administration. So one has to say that this recent community has not been treated with due consideration in the expanded Councils; it should have been accorded its own special representatives.

None of these things are mentioned in the Manifesto. That document contains only the language of malicious sectarianism, though in a suave form. Government has not done anything wrong in granting separate representation to the zamindars and to Musalmans. And Government will not make any change in this connection either three years hence. There would have been no harm in distinctly putting it down in the Manifesto that the new Regulations have to a large extent cheated the educated community, and further that means should have been indicated for the "leaders" not to be left without any definite line of work. Merely appealing apprehensively and concealing the indignation in one's heart in a cloak of soft words are not the means to get the English Government to grant rights. There are two courses open to the educated community of Bengal now. First co-operating with Government, to get into the Councils under the new Regulations, and try to get them amended by

constitutional means, to try to benefit the community by struggling with Government. The second is the path of opposition, to let Government wholly alone and try to subserve the national good in the departments of morals and religion. One of these two courses must be adopted—attempting to ride two horses at the same time would end in depriving the leaders of the respect of both parties. The signatories to this Manifesto are all men of intelligence and spirit. We are not vain enough to imagine that reasons which did not suggest themselves to them would occur to us. Why then things should turn out thus is more than we can say. Perhaps they fear to incur the wrath of Government, and at the same time are unwilling to lose the popular esteem.

Both Government as well as ourselves are aware that a change has come over the spirit and ideas of the people. Government wants to stem this change of feeling and make all co-operate with it. A great deal of risk, imprisonment and deportation is involved in the refusal of this co-operation. On the other hand, unless one shapes one's course according to the ideas of the people, one loses popular favour and injures oneself professionally—one's paper ceases to sell for example. Herein lies the trouble. In such a troublous situation, it is wise to adhere to one consistent line of conduct. By this course ultimately good may possibly result. If you are timid, side with Government; and if you are courageous enough, speak out frankly about the country. Siding with Government implies prompt gain; and siding with the country means the coming of sorrow equally promptly. The publication of "facing both-ways" Manifesto like this will please neither Government nor the people.

Dainik Hitavadi, Dec. 17th, 1909.

The Bengali Manifesto on the Reforms.

22. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 17th December is constrained to find fault with the recent Bengali Manifesto on the Reforms as wanting in outspokenness. Such outspokenness is needed the more, as Government cannot be presumed to have practically outcasted the educated classes from new councils from inadvertence or ignorance—the presence of Mr. Singha on the Viceroy's Council forbids such a supposition. There will be too many Musalmans on the new Councils. In Eastern Bengal almost all the elected members have turned out to be Musalmans. In Western Bengal the Patna Division has returned two Musalmans. In addition there are the Bihari members, the zamindars and the European merchants. To represent the Bengali educated community, there will only be five members—Messrs. Baikunta Nath Sen, K. B. Dutt, Dip Narain Singh, Debprasad Sarbadhikary and Rai Kissory Lal Goswami Bahadur. What will these five do among 45? And in the Council of Eastern Bengal there will not probably be even five, perhaps not a single one. Defects like these must be held to have resulted from deliberate policy, and any protest against them must therefore be strong to be effective.

Furthermore, any encouragement of this anti-Musalman spirit such as the Manifesto betrays at the present moment will end in disaster for this popular cause. Certainly Government will not leave Hindus in this cold shade of neglect for ever. A day will also surely come when the Musalmans will appraise Government favour at its true valuation. Then will a union of the two communities inevitably follow.

After all, Government is not to blame: it was bound to spread a web of political cunning. If the Bengali leaders have dexterity enough to cut that web through and serve the interests of their country, let them speak out now; else let them keep quiet.

Bharat Mitra, Dec. 18th, 1909.

The Indian Association protest.

23. Referring to the protest from the Indian Association under the signatures of several leaders of Bengal against the recent Regulations, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 18th December observes:—Will the Government which has humiliated the educated class by these regulations care a bit for the protest from its leaders? It may not; but it would be enough if it would bring those to their senses who are coming forward to be elected.

Dharma, Dec. 20th, 1909.

The position of Hindus in Eastern Bengal under the new Reforms.

24. The *Dharma* [Calcutta] of the 20th December says that both the members who have been returned by the electorates in the Dacca Division to the Eastern Bengal and Assam Legislative Council are Muhammadans. The influence of the Musalman community is supreme in

Eastern Bengal, and it is almost impossible for any Hindu to become successful in an electioneering contest with the Musalmans. But still the Musalmans of the new Province have got special seats for themselves in the Legislative Council. The meaning of this is not quite clear. Was it for such a reform that the Indians became so anxious?

Hitvadi, Dec. 17th 1909.

The new Legislative Council of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

25. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 17th December writes that seeing that both the District Boards and Municipalities of the Dacca Division in Eastern Bengal have returned Musalmans, it seems just that in that Province and in the Punjab where the Hindus constitute the minority, special seats should have been reserved for the latter rather than for the Musalmans. But one cannot speak with any confidence in this case, since one cannot be sure that what Government aimed at was only a special representation of minorities.

Bharat Mitra, Dec. 18th, 1909.

Travelling allowance to members.

26. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 18th December questions the necessity of paying the unofficial members of the Reformed Councils any allowance at all, considering that many would not deny themselves the pleasure of obtaining admission into them on paying something as never out of their pocket. The honour of being called "Honourable" is not of the ordinary type.

Hindi Bangavasi, Dec. 20th, 1909.

Mr. Kelkar's disqualification.

27. Dwelling on the ground on which Mr. Kelkar has been disqualified to stand as a candidate for the membership of the Council, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 20th December hesitates to believe that contempt of court is the only ground of his disqualification, now that Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, who was guilty of a much graver crime, has been declared eligible of offer himself as a candidate for a seat in the Reformed Councils.

Hitvarta, Dec. 16th, 1909.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia as a Member of the Council.

28. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 16th December writes:—

We are pained to see the downfall of some of those belonging to the educated middle class going a-begging for votes, when that class is being so humiliated by recent Regulations. We are not opposed to assisting our rulers in the administration of the country, but there is such a thing as self-respect. Will this fact receive any attention from Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia, the orthodox leader of our religion?

Hitvarta, Dec. 16th, 1909.

Council appointments.

29. Referring to the appointment of Rai Bahadur Pandit Sunder Lal, C.I.E., as a member of the United Provinces Council the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 16th December observes:—The reason why we do not get real powers is that people run after Government appointments which have no substance in them.

Burdwan Sanjivani, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The Reforms and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.

30. The *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 14th December writes:—

Finding that the Reform Scheme has displeased the Moderates, our shrewd Lieutenant-Governor is trying to propitiate Surendra Babu who is the leader of the Moderate party, by offering to take him into the Legislative Council. But we hear that Surendra Babu will not accept the offer, and we praise him for his noble courage.

Behar Herald, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The Lieutenant-Governor's geniality.

31. In an article on "geniality" the *Behar Herald* [Arrah] of the 16th December says:—

It is said that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is highly genial in his manners. Whoever talks with him becomes attached to him. Through this characteristic of his he has several times succeeded in making up differences among his subjects.

During His Honour recent visit to Arrah the Municipality in an address begged him for Government grant to meet the cost of the drainage there, but His Honour replied in strong terms refusing the prayer. This gave pain to the inhabitants of the locality. The next day at a garden party His Honour showed so much geniality that all of them forgot what had happened the previous day. No one is seen uttering a single word against him now. It is happy to find that this good quality is owned by Mr. Johnston, the Collector of Arrah, also. He, too, appeals to the hearts of the people in an instant. The people should try to follow the example of geniality shown by these officials.

32. The *Alpanek* [Bankipore] of the 16th December says it has not yet been able to solve the puzzle as to the purposes served by the tours of the officials as well as Governors of Provinces. All that we can guess is that our country being under the foreign yoke, is little known in all its details to our rulers who therefore aim at obtaining information about it by their tours. But we are at a loss to judge what information they receive, and what method they consider necessary to be adopted in order to remove the defects in the administration thus discovered, for we find that the condition of the country remains as ever even after such tours. Addresses to the rulers are given by members of any nation and community, who return home delighted with the reply which is generally couched in felicitous terms; but what the foreign District Magistrate used to do before, he continues to do again. This much however is done, that the road to be traversed by the Lieutenant-Governor is repaired, as was the case with the road leading to Patharighat, at the time of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's visit last time to the Divisional head-quarters of Patna. A garden party was given; there was a gathering of people; everything was done to make the occasion cheerful and happy; but what orders were passed regarding the municipal arrangements of the town, no one can say.

A puzzle is solved.

ALPANEK, Dec. 16th, 1908.

33. The *Bharat Bandhu* [Calcutta] of the 15th December enquires why the Government has kept ten crores of rupees in an under ground hole in the Allahabad Fort?

Buried hoard in Allahabad Fort.

BHARAT BANDHU, Dec. 15th, 1908.

34. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 15th December thanks Lord Minto for recently nominating two sons of Oudh Talukdars to the Imperial Cadet corps, and hopes that a similar concession will ere long be made in favour of the aristocracy of other provinces also.

The Imperial Cadet corps.

BASUMATI, Dec. 15th, 1908.

35. In expressing its joy at the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., as member of the Privy Council, the *Alpanek* [Bankipore] of the 16th December observes that many of the papers have expressed their displeasure at a Muhammadan's obtaining this prize appointment, in spite of their wish for of the Indians forming one nation. A few of the Muhammadans, too, are of the same idea. The proper course for them would be to direct their attention to the present situation, and work with zeal for the welfare of the nation.

The Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali as Privy Councillor.

ALPANEK, Dec. 16th, 1908.

36. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 18th December speaks for the peons attached to the Post Office, Calcutta, who have not yet received their winter dress. It has become fairly cold now in the city, and the poor people ought to get their warm clothing.

Postal peons and winter dress.

DAILY HITAVADI, Dec. 18th, 1908.

37. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December asks if anybody can say why, after a good long time, the practice of marching a regiment of Highlanders through certain Bengal districts has been revived.

The Gordon Highlanders in Midnapore.

DAILY HITAVADI, Dec. 14th, 1908.

38. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 16th December says that the report that a regiment of Highlanders will pass through Midnapore on their way to Cawnpore has created a panic in the former town. Lower class people are deserting the town, and the women who used to come from villages to sell vegetables in the town have ceased to visit the town. The District Magistrate has assured the Vice-Chairman of the Town Municipality that there is no cause for alarm.

Highlanders in Midnapore. a panic in the town.

NAYAK, Dec. 16th, 1908.

39. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 17th December thanks Mr. Kilby, Magistrate of Midnapore, for the steps he has taken to prevent oppression on the poor in connection with the visit of the Gordons to that district, but asks why, seeing that the Bengalis are such a timid race, this camping of soldiers in their midst was thought necessary at all.

The Gordons in Midnapore.

DAILY HITAVADI, Dec. 17th, 1908.

40. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 15th December speaks of the panic into which the Midnapore public have been thrown by the report that the Gordon Highlanders

The Gordon Highlanders in Midnapore.

BASUMATI, Dec. 15th, 1908.

are coming into their midst. In spite of Mr. Kilby's assurances, the people are in terror—so demoralised they have been by their recent experiences in connection with the bomb case.

Continuing, the paper expresses a hope that Government will take care to see that no inconvenience is caused to zamindars and ryots in Bengal by this march of the Gordons.

IV.—Native States.

DAILY HITAVADI, Dec. 14th, 1909.

Loyalty of the Native Princes.

41. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December cannot understand why some of the Native Princes like those of Jaipur and Bikanir, make such a display of their loyalty. What good is done thereby to British Indian subjects and to the British Government? Speaking for the Bengalis, they are and will always be British subjects, and will not be tempted by the hopes of paradise into leaving home and going to live on territories under the Feudatory Princes. Indeed they glory in being British subjects, and they cannot part with the honour of being such, no matter whether they live in joy or in sorrow. What then are we sought to be terrified for? Can anybody explain this mystery?

HITAVADI, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The Patiala Special Tribunal.

42. Refering to the admission of pleaders before the Special Tribunal sitting at Patiala for the trial of sedition cases being qualified with certain conditions, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 15th December remarks:—How did the Maharaja appoint Mr. Grey as Counsel for the prosecution? It is natural for the accused to despair when every proceeding on behalf of the accused is opposed and that on behalf of the prosecution upheld. So no intelligent man should give way to wonder.

HINDU RANGAVASI, Dec. 15th, 1909.

Ibid.

43. *Anent* the above, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 20th December remarks:—The more we hear about these proceedings in Patiala, the greater it sets us a-thinking as to what hard times we have fallen in.

BASUMATI, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The new Revenue Minister of Kashmir.

44. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 18th December writes that the recent appointment of Sheikh Maqbul Kisain to be Revenue Minister of Kashmir, over the heads of many veteran servants of the State, has caused discontent. It is not the fact of the Sheikh's being a Musalman, but of his lacking all previous experience of revenue work, which makes this appointment mysterious.

BIR BHARAT, Dec. 19th, 1909.

A Muhammadan Finance Minister in Kashmir.

45. Referring to the appointment of Sheikh Maqbul Kisain as the Finance Minister of Kashmir, the *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 19th December observes:—

It is said that the Sheikh was employed in the Detective Department of the Government of India. The appointment of a spy in the Finance Department is a source of misapprehension to the people of Kashmir. May be that he is a clever detective; but that he must possess any knowledge of the finance of the State is more than what we can believe. So we are unable to understand why the Sheikh has been appointed to the exclusion of experienced officers of Kashmir.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

NAYAK, D. 14th, 1909.

"Times like these will not last (for ever)."

46. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 14th December has the following:—

Brother, bracing up the heart with high hopes, inflating the chest with endless courage (He) is saying: "Times like these will not last (for ever)." Listen then to God's reassuring words, meant to wipe away the tears of the stricken, to console the oppressed:—

"O descendant of Bharat! whenever righteousness declines and unrighteousness flourishes, I incarnate myself. I am born (in human shape) from era to era, in order to save the honest, to destroy the evil-doer, and to establish righteousness." These deeply reassuring words of God have always been a cause of hope to the honest. They constitute the one vivifying great principle

wherefrom the oppressed may draw consolation. If righteousness declines and unrighteousness flourishes, God will come—what words of hope (these are) which remain engraved in the recesses of the hearts of men ere after ere. God will come in order to defend righteousness, to save the oppressed from oppression by the strong—what an unfathomable fountain of nectar is flowing through these words! A heavenly light will enter the hearts of the oppressed when the last moment of oppression has come (so far as he is concerned). He will understand that his prayers have shaken the sacred throne of God, that he is leaving paradise and coming out in order to save [man] with his own hands. Clinging (in faith) to these few words, man will forget in an instant all their life-long struggles, their unbearable sufferings. Why will not he, to save whom God Himself is in readiness, long eagerly to come to (what is) the last moment of oppression (for him)? For he knows that at that last auspicious moment of oppression, in order to save him, God making his incorporeal aspect corporeal will descend on the rod (?) of the earth. How auspicious is the final stage of oppression—how soothing is that last moment full of (literally, covered over with) peace, the moment when God Himself will take up the rod?

God will come to keep righteousness from decline. God makes himself manifest in two ways. In one case He descends in person in a fully incarnated form, in order to relieve the earth of its burden; and in the other, He provides a remedy for oppression by making himself manifest through men. He affords support to the weak and to the helpless. It is not that God reveals himself through one only. He reveals himself through many as well.

The divine strength is latent in every human being. The Hindu believes that Narayan (an aspect of the deity) is in every man. To the extent to which this inward divine strength has been awakened, in one, has one succeeded in ascending to heights of greatness in the world? When men worship (other) men as gods, they mean to dedicate their offering of flowers in the shape of reverence to this awakened strength. A collection of individuals constitutes a nation; the nation in which this strength gradually comes to be roused in many individuals, nobody will ever succeed in keeping down. If it is possible to keep such a nation down, it will not be impossible to keep God down also.

When India was sinking under oppression and injustice, when her limbs were being torn asunder, God who loves (literally, belongs to) his devotees, incarnated himself in order to string the whole of India in one filament of righteousness and establish a kingdom of righteousness.

When righteousness declined, God, revealing himself in Sri Chaitanya, roused the whole country to the pitch of madness with a religious phrensy. Because on that occasion he revealed himself through an individual to a large extent, we have come to take Sri Chaitanya Deb as an ideal for men; we have not shrunk from calling him an incarnation even. Not once or twice; he has come in this manner many times. When a a weak nation has to be dragged up, when it has to be saved from the lashes of oppression, God reveals himself. He reveals himself to the extent to which oppression is committed. The manifestation of the divine strength will be noticed among many among the great and the small. When the manifestation of the divine strength is fully brought out on the immense body of a nation, that nation comes to be animated with a strange force. A response in all (the aspect of the life of the nation, originating in the manifestation of God, is felt. Through what fortunate individual He will manifest Himself, we cannot understand from his previous action. That God of mercy, when He saw oppression and injustice at work and righteousness declining and unrighteousness predominant, has (always) set free the copious fountains of His mercy.

To-day, the ray of God's mercy has descended down to the doors of Bengal. The nectar-like stream of His mercy is touching every heart. A flood has come into the silted-up stream. Through old and young, God has manifested Himself unsolicited. Who is there lying asleep—rouse yourself and see the endless glory of God? Who is anguished, oppressed and afflicted, let him be reassured! God, in order to prove the efficacy of His words of hope, is slowly infusing divine strength into the immense body of (this) nation. The

divinity in the hearts of the boy and the girl, the young man and the young woman, the old man and the old woman, in these dewy, very dewy, cuddly What a day of joy—God is coming! Look there what lines of rays of [illegible] are coming out on the blue sky! Hark! how words of hope are being echoed on all sides! What unlimited spirit and power are being infused into every heart at the report that God is coming. At the last moment of oppression God will come in a fully incarnated form. Where is that last suspicious moment of oppression when beneficent God will manifest Himself in His angry aspect, when the adamantine grip of oppression will be relaxed. At the manifestation of Him who is greater than the great, even the immense strength of a man possessed of great strength will in an instant be levelled with the street. The prayers of those stricken with oppression uttered when they have been cut to the quick will shake God's throne. He will come then—this is what His suspicious lips have said. That is why we want that moment, that suspicious last moment, of oppression. And we want ones, standing on the Mother's breast, to say defiantly before the world: "Times like these will not last (for ever) for us."

NARU GOPAL GHOSH.

The writer has written well. But one thing he ought to remember, that God does not come down to save anybody and everybody. He comes and comes into the world to save only the honest who had suffered and do suffer oppression. To get the favour of God, one must first of all be honest—the Editor of the *Nayak*.

BHARAT MITRA, Dec. 16th, 1908.

Swarajya.

47. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 18th December has tried to define *swarajya* in an article, taking the following passage from John Stuart Mill for its text:—"The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle-farm to be worked for the profits of its own habitation."

Every word of the above extract is pregnant with immutable truth; history abounds in illustrations of it. The condition of a people ruled over by Aryans is like that of cattle. A man keeps cattle for his own benefit, if he is wise he feeds them well, but only for his own gain. There may be honourable exceptions to this as regards the owner of cattle, but history furnished no example of a foreign nation ruling over another nation for the sole benefit of the latter or for securing fame only. But supposing there be a case like that, a man with a grain of sense in him would not consider the life of a well fed and well cared for animal as being happier than that of one which is free.

Swarajya is the only remedy of this contemptible brute-life. As the life of a man without liberty is insipid to him, so is the life of a nation without freedom insipid to it. *Swarajya* alone can make national life free and independent. It is the only basis of developement of a national energy.

The highest ambition of an individual of a civilised community is the attainment of *Swarajya*, an ardent growth of such a desire in a nation. Life without its fulfilment appears to every individual of that nation as being very miserable. The nation is then able to obtain it, surmounting all difficulties.

The absence of such a desire in a nation goes to show that it has become used to its brute-life, that its deliverance is impossible. On the other hand if it springs up in a subject nation, the rulers, if civilised, begin to realise that it is seeking its deliverence and so loosens the ties of bondage, parting with some of its rights. In this way when the ruled gradually come to possess the same rights as a ruling nation, no distinction remains between them and this freedom for administering the affairs of one's own country is called *swarajya*.

The same paper in another article says the words *jati* or *jatiata* have, after undergoing different significations and thereby affecting the nation's destiny now come to mean nation and nationality and in the case of India all the inhabitants of the country, irrespective of any difference in colour or creed.

48. The Dawn Calcutta [Calcutta] of the 16th December writes: "[illegible] very poor reason in Russia or this evil the Czar has been compelled to have recourse to a policy of repression by the commission of the [illegible] from the very nature of things a policy of deep suspicion, which [illegible] intelligence even those who are powerful and [illegible] One cannot therefore prefer the claims of [illegible] enforcement as a preventive measure of doubtful [illegible] innocent and the guilty in India. What we [illegible] strictly just administration of justice, without the least reference to political considerations. Any departure from this rule is bound to create discontent. The number of wrong-headed fanatics who glory in their suicide and in the sympathy and appreciation of like-minded people is still few in India, and the provisions of the Penal Code are enough for the suppression of the small number of wretches of this type to be met with in this country. It should be remembered that sedition can make no headway in a country where there is not already a seething mass of discontent on which sedition-mongers can play at their will.

Dawn Calcutta, Dec. 16th, 1908.

49. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 16th December writes: "Congress came to an end, because some of our educated countrymen made up their mind to give up the old practice of looking up to Government for reforms. Hence the Congress which is now being held, does not command the sympathy of many educated men and it has been reduced to a mere farce. Many an unsatisfactory measure of Government has kindled the fire of discontent among the educated Indians, specially the partition of Bengal. The cry raised by hundreds of meetings of the people was considered by the Ministers of the throne as a cry in the wilderness, and the unrest in the country was very great. Just then the proposal of Lord Morley for reforming the administration created a hope that it would reduce the amount of discontent at least to some extent, and that the Reforms would proceed on the lines suggested by the previous Congress. The first indications of these Reforms as given by Lord Morley led people to hope that the wishes of the defunct Congress would be fulfilled. They thought that the masses would be allowed to send their representatives to the village Unions, the village Unions to the District Boards, the District Boards to the Provincial Councils, and so on. What the people have got instead is a doll to please children only. The right of election is confined to Municipalities, District Boards and Universities. Some Mahomedans and land-holders have also been given some rights, but no provision has been made for the people at large to send in their representatives. The rights of Municipalities and District Boards have been so restricted, as to close the doors of the Council against those who had hitherto been considered eligible for admission. Election having been founded on the basis of religion for the first time in the history of the British rule, has only created a dissension between persons holding different faiths.

A bloodless struggle.

Despair in the matter of Reforms has convinced many an educated man in the country of his previous mistake, and led him to rejoin the advanced party. Many now understand that they cannot get the rights of British citizenship by anybody's favour, and that they must put forth their own efforts in that direction. The efforts consist in rising against the injustice of the authorities, without infringing the country's laws. It is a bloodless struggle. To understand it clearly, let us take into our consideration the Reform Scheme and the regulations made thereunder. These Regulations lay down the qualifications of those who can elect members to the Council, and also those who can be elected. Those persons commit no offence, if they do not elect their representatives or stand for election. No one can be compelled to do so. Of course Government officials may cause them trouble by various acts of high-handedness; but in spite of their troubles becoming intolerable, they should not lose their patience, but continue to suffer and refrain from electing representatives or allowing themselves to be elected. This is a bloodless struggle against the Reforms. Our brethren in the Transvaal are just now displaying their manliness by being engaged in

such a struggle. The people of England have obtained their political ordinary rights by such a bloodless struggle. If the Indians will ever be able to gain the true right of a British citizen it will be also a continued bloody struggle with their rulers. If they will be able to stand firm, all obstacles to their obtaining manliness will disappear.

DHARMA, Dec. 26th, 1909.

60. The *Dharma* [Calcutta] of the 26th December writes as follows:—

The question of a united Congress.

Our contemporary of the Bengalee in pointing out the failure of the united Congress Committee, said says that the representatives of the Nationalist party have refused to subscribe to the Creed, and that without signing the Creed no one can enter the Congress. In spite of its having issued this statement, Our contemporary hopes that an attempt can again be made to bring about a union, and that the two parties can join hands in the country's work. So long as the minds of Moderate leaders will not be disbursed of this wrong idea, all hope of a union will be vain. So long as they will make it a point not to surrender their position in this respect, the National party will desist from participating in any effort for a union, on the idea that the Moderates do not really seek it. It is bad to rouse false hopes in the country. The National party will soon announce to the public what they have to say in the matter and then it will be clear under what conditions they are willing to come to terms with the Moderates. The day that will make the Moderates disgusted with the politics of Mehta and Morley and bring them to us for peace under these conditions, that day we shall bestir ourselves in bringing about a united Congress.

DHARMA, Dec. 26th, 1909.

61. The *Dharma* [Calcutta] of the 26th December has the following under the heading "A united Congress":—

The forthcoming Congress.

We are sorry to inform our country that there is not the least chance of a united Congress taking place. The attempts of the Committee which was appointed during the Hooghly Provincial Conference have been in vain. At the first sitting of the Committee the representatives of the Moderate party proposed that correspondence should again be opened with the people of Bombay regarding the three main resolutions, which had been passed at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* office last year, making alterations in them as necessary. These three resolutions were that the Nationalist party should accept the regulations framed by the Convention, but that those regulations should be accepted by the Congress, and that the four resolutions which were passed by the Calcutta Congress, should be accepted by the Congress. On that occasion those who came as the representatives of the Mahratta Nationalist party, agreed to accept the Creed and the Constitution in the hope of making the Congress accept the boycott again. But Pherozshah Mehta did not on any account consent to accept the boycott resolution of the Calcutta Congress.

This time the Moderate delegates decided that since Pherozshah Mehta was unwilling to accept the boycott, it would be useless to raise the question of the four resolutions, and that in the subjects Committee of the united Congress they (the delegates) would try for the boycott resolution which had better be kept in abeyance for the time being. They (the delegates) also resolved that they should accept and sign the Creed without a murmur; that the regulations framed by the Convention should be obeyed, though a Committee should be appointed at Lahore for amending the regulations. The nationalist delegates could not be satisfied with these extraordinary proposals, and Srijukta Arawinda Ghosh frankly replied that he would never consent to sign the Creed, but that he would after thinking over the matter for a few days and going though the regulation inform the Moderates as to what changes were necessary in these resolutions. It was decided that the Committee should sit again after the *Puja* holidays and come to a definite conclusion. After the holidays the representatives of the Nationalist party proposed that they would accept the object of the Convention as the object of the Congress, but that they would never admit them to be their own opinions, that they would never bind themselves to that narrow object, that they would never sign that Creed, that they would never admit the regulations framed by the Convention as the regulations framed by the Congress, but that they might in order to bring about a reconciliation consent to submit to these regulations for a session or two. They demanded that the rule which had disqualified new associations from

electing members should be omitted, and that at the [illegible] of the united Congress the real committee should be accepted instead of the regulations. They agreed not to make the acceptance of the Creed "Calcutta Resolutions" as a condition of reconciliation, but they wanted the Moderate leaders to promise that full facility should be given in the subjects Committee or in the Congress for raising these four proposals. When the Congress assembled the second time, the Moderate leaders declined to accept these proposals. They said that the Creed must be signed, or else it would be quite useless to try for a reconciliation. They said to the Nationalists: "Submit to the Creed and the regulations and come with us to Lahore where we shall press for the appointment of a Committee for amending the regulations." The representatives of the Nationalist party declined to sign the Creed. The united Congress was not held.

We have said again and again that the Nationalist party of Bengal will never admit the "Mehta Mejlis" to be the Congress, that they are not anxious to get into that Mejlis, and that they will never consent to sign the Creed. The meaning of the proposal of the Moderate leaders is that the Nationalist party should admit themselves to be in the wrong, sacrifice their own opinion and truthfulness, get into the Mejlis bowing with folded hands to Mehta and Gokhale, and that the Nationalists who would be in a minority in the Congress should beg for favours from the Moderates who would be numerically stronger. We fail to see why the Nationalist party should submit to such meanness and humiliation. Do the Moderates think that two years of cruel persecution have frightened the Nationalists and made them anxious to seek shelter in Mehta Mejlis in the mad hope of having a reconciliation. Considering that there are two parties, is it at all possible that one party should allow the other to have every indulgence, and that it (the former) should bow down at the feet of its opposite party, forgetful of its own objections, opinions and high hopes? The Nationalists in Bengal did not agree to the proposals made last year at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* office though those proposals included the retention of the four Calcutta resolutions—and this time the proposals of the Moderates have not retained them even. This strange extent is thus to be based on this abandonment by the Nationalists of all that they want and by their wholesale acceptance of what these Moderates say.

The Calcutta Congress declared that the Congress demanded colonial self-government within the empire. Although we did not agree with this, we accept it as the opinion of the majority of the delegates. The Surat Convention further decided that those who were not prepared to accept this as their political goal, would not be admitted into this Congress. Signing the Creed and assenting to this now are the same. Why shall we subscribe to that with which we do not agree? Righteousness is our sole support; why should we sacrifice that, and to please Mehta displease God? Secondly, if it is urged that there has been no change made save that what was the claim of the Congress has now come to be its aim; so there should be no objection made to giving one's assent, even to that we may agree for the sake of unity, but we decline to sign the creed. For the Indian Congress is not the property either of the Moderates or of the Extremists—it is bound to accept anybody who is elected as a delegate by his fellow-countrymen, else it ceases to be a Congress and becomes only a consultation assembly of Moderates. The Indian Congress does not belong, we say, to Moderates or cowards. Signing the Creed means that selfless brave sons of Mother India who seek liberty for her, are unfit to enter the Congress. Signing the Creed implies humiliation to Nationalism, to the nation, to the national ideal, and to those sons devoted to the Mother who have suffered for her sake.

Your rules are a standing monument of autocracy and of the violation of democratic usages. These rules were never accepted by Congress, and yet they are to be foisted on that body at the bidding of a handful of prominent men. If we accept these rules now as embracing the Congress constitution, your attempts fraught with risk to the welfare of the country are crowned with success. Nevertheless we are prepared to accept the existing rule of the Convention as temporarily binding, if you promise to frame legitimate rules for the Congress within two years—only you will have to remove one rule which practically shuts out Nationalist delegates. Unless this rule is abolished, how

Daily Hitvadi, Dec. 16th, 1917.

Politics in the Congress.

62. The *Daily Hitvadi* [Calcutta] of the 16th December says that, according to the *Bengalee* newspaper, a united Congress has been made impossible this year, owing to the Extremist leaders having refused to sign the Creed and accept the subjects resolved on in a meeting of the leaders of both the Moderate and Extremist parties held last year in the office of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. In spite of this the *Bengalee*, that is to say, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, is hopeful of a union between the two parties and of a united Congress in future. But it is inconceivable as long as the Extremist leaders will refuse to subscribe to the Creed, which indicates according to the *Bengalee*, nothing else than submission to British rule and allegiance to constitutional means of agitation. Rejection of these conditions of British citizenship makes one liable to punishment under the law of the land. A union of Moderates with such men is impossible. The Congress is the child of English education and civilization; the Congress is the embodiment of the heart's desire of the educated community; the Congress is the cry of people that hails the rule of generosity in English rule. There can be no Congress in disregard of English education, English civilization and English rule. The cause of imbibing the English civilization that possesses the educated community is a new step of subjection. Consequently, whether the Extremists subscribe to the Creed or not, it must be understood that by their love for the Congress they indirectly admit their subjection to the British nation; under these circumstances, it is hard to think that the Extremist leaders are such fools as to render themselves liable to punishment by refusing to subscribe to such a subordinate condition as the *Bengalee* represents the Congress creed to be. The *Bengalee*, however, says: "The representatives of the other party did not see their way to take this view; and negotiations naturally fell through." Why does then the *Bengalee* so anxiously entertain the hope of a united Congress? It is now evident that the recent Congress convention in Bengal had its origin in the appointment of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as its President. Now that Pandit Madan Mohan will lead the game, all the Moderates have changed sides and are prepared to flock to the Congress Pandal at Lahore. It will be a national Congress, and will prove the doom of the National Congress.

Nayak, Dec. 16th, 1917.

The Presidentship of the Congress.

63. The following is a full translation of an article under the heading "One is older (and) the other (also); what limit of virtues (are we) to describe of (him)?"

Information has been received that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad will now be the President of the Lahore Congress. It was previously arranged that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta should add

to the press at this year's Congress. Phirozshah has taken into consideration the happiness of the country, has shown his affection for the Congress, has preserved the honour of the Hospital, and has shown the greatest self-restraint. Like a well-behaved person, he has come down from the head of the Congress and quietly got into his hole. Some say that he has come down from the head of the Congress, because he is to be appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay. Let him be the king of Bombay, (or) an emperor, (or) the king of kings, we have nothing to be sorry for in this; the fact that he has got down from the head of the Congress is enough to make us happy. The person who has come to fill his place is the noble-minded Malavya of Allahabad. Although he is not a spirited, able and arrogant man like Mehtá Saheb, he is the jewel on Allahabad's crown (literally head), the "Sirnik Rani" of Mathura—a very jewelled serpent* in the field of politics. There is not much difference between the ancestor and the descendant; the only difference is that "One is cinder (while) the other is ashes."

*The lady who used to act intermediary in Krishna's amours with Radha.

We have neither approved of Mehta's election, nor (do we approve of) that of Malavya. Do (you) know why? Then listen to (what we) say. We know that according to the definition of the word in an English dictionary everybody is loyal—that those who are not loyal are very few in number. We do not believe that that law, named Sedition (law), which is in force in this country, has any good object. We do not believe that outside the Lunatic Asylum there is any man in this country who is attempting to (literally, moving about in the attempt) overthrow English rule in India. Does anybody remember what these jewels of boys (literally, boys who are golden moons) who have been sentenced to transportation because of their being implicated in the bomb case, said in their confessions? They said in their respective depositions that they were preparing themselves for a far-off revolution (and that) none of them was trying to uproot the English Empire. There is no reason whatever for doubting what they have confessed, for they made their confessions like men—like lions in the shape of men—like heroes—with fearless hearts and regardless of their lives and their weal or woe. They did not even try to destroy the root of the British Empire. They were preparing themselves for a far-off revolution. Everyone of those who wish well to their country, is now preparing himself for this far-off revolution, though, however, the ways in which different persons are making this preparation are different. These boys took a wrong view (of the situation), were unable to make a reckoning of the future, did not understand the relation between cause and effect (literally, effect and cause), and charmed with English ideas engaged themselves in the commission of an English sin. Is it necessary to explain what this far-off revolution is? It is the revolution (*sic*) for which a revolution (*sic*) took place in France. This revolution is not meant for deposing the sovereign or for weakening the ruling power, but only an attempt on the part of the people to obtain good government. (It is) only an attempt to harmonise the sovereign's right with those of the people.* Is there any fool who wishes to bring useless confusion into (his) country? Is there any fool who endeavours to bring despotism into (his) country? Is there any fool who is eager to loosen the ruling power in (his) country? Everyone in (this) country knows that in order to protect the people, in order to protect the society, in order to protect the empire, a ruling power is necessary. The Hindu is the worshipper of the corporeal. The Hindu is connected with the incorporeal through the concrete. To the Hindu the corporeal sovereign is not simply a ruling power. Those who want to pull the ruling power away are mad. What then do the people of the country want? (They) want one who has become a man truly speaking, want what one wants in order to be a man—that is good government—impartial good government—good government based upon righteousness. When the people of England went mad, was it the ruin of their sovereign that they had in view? Or did they try to destroy the sovereign's life? Read the constitutional history of England, and you will find that the people never asked for any unjust gift, even when they got the sovereign in their power. Un-

*The original has it simply as *Addition*, which is evidently a misprint for *Proper Addition*.

every occasion they accepted only those gifts which the sovereign had the right to grant. They asked for their own welfare—(and) never asked for any trouble for the sovereign. They wanted peace for the country (and) never tried to bring unrest into the country. They sought for the path of their own existence and of the freedom to do their own work (and) did not try to tie the sovereign's hands with chains. There is still a sovereign in England as before, and yet the happiness, ease (and) independence of the people have become greater than before. In every country where there are men, everybody will seek this much of happiness, this much of comfort, this much of independence. Beasts and birds seek these things and it is but natural that men should seek them. That is why we say that what you erroneously think to be an attempt to overthrow the British Government is not really an attempt to overthrow it. That which you call sedition, what you think to be sedition, and freely send people to jail on the supposition, is not really sedition (but) only an attempt to loosen the noose round the (people's) neck, only an angry or delirious statement for the purpose of obtaining good government. What is there (literally, what comes or goes) in the language? Why not look into the trend of the mind?

We were so long sunk in the muddy water of pessimism, dependent on others and obtaining our livelihood from the fortune of others; (but) we have now come to know the paths and the causes of our happiness and misery. We want good government, impartial good government, the policy of equality in government. To those who speak out their minds frankly you have given the name of "Extremists." We have an aversion for this word. What we understand is that those who are called "Extremists" belong to a place outside the world; they are men who have no sense of what is right and what is wrong and who are in fact mad men. Two parties have now come to exist in the country. One party has so long been going about without any ideal and without any motive. Instead of intending to be rich, they were only crying: "Get eight pice given to me, Rama." They took no account as to where and in return for what work Rama would get them their pice. The other party say: "Speak in such a way that Rama may give you eight pice of himself." This then is the difference between the two parties. One party had so long been begging for alms with the beggar's wallet in hand, forgetting, of course, that the giver of alms never impoverishes himself when making charity. The other party say: "Instead of begging act (literally, move) in such a way that the giver of alms may not give you alms on the plea of making a charity, but may divide with you the wealth he has in his bag in consideration of your worth." The people of India are not devoid of all sense of right and wrong as the people of England are. They are restrained, patient, and quiet. Here, in the present times, no one wants to get into the quarrel which the people in western countries got into, for the purpose of obtaining happiness, comfort, peace and independence, nor does anybody consider such a thing as necessary. And it is absolutely impossible to get into such a quarrel. Here the second party ask (their countrymen) to be outspoken (and) to show zeal and firm resolution. If in order to show these any kind of persecution has to be suffered, they say: "Never miss (your) hands, if (you) have to suffer persecution, submit even to that, but do not give up (your) resolution."

If (anybody) wants to be the leader of the country, it is now necessary that he should possess the power to guide these two parties. It is necessary that both these parties should be accommodated on board the ship of the Congress. The Congress cannot exist for a moment if it flouts the power of ourselves, which has been aroused in this country. It is only if this power joins the Congress, that it may last; or else the Congress is sure to meet with a violent death. When the Congress was first held in the country, the ruling community in this country did not shrink from laughing at it and jeering it, nor even from calling it a disloyal (movement). Gradually the ruling community have found that a second party have been born in the country and so they (the ruling community) want to accept the former Congress as their own as the lesser evil. And now the ruling community do not hesitate to call the second party disloyal. After a short time they will get accustomed to this party also, and consider them as the "lesser evil." Hence we say that the Congress should now have to reconcile the two parties to each other; hence we say that the Congress now needs a President who will prevent the

second party from going astray and employ them for the country's good. Will Pandit Malaviya, with his beggar's wallet in hand, dressed as a mendicant and saying "Victory to Rad dha (and) Krishna" be able to perform this noble task? That cannot be. Hence we say, if he comes in Mohit's place, it will be ashes coming in the place of cinder.

54. The *Hitavada* [Calcutta] of the 16th December is unable to understand the pomp and show made at the opening ceremony of the Lahore Exhibition on Saturday last. For an Exhibition held with the object of improving the trade and commerce of an extremely poor country like India, such a pompous show is not at all necessary, for it conveys the folly of India being a prosperous country which cannot benefit by dust being thrown into the eyes of the people. If it was intended to open it with the help of Government Officials and Native Princes, why was it associated with the Congress, which sheds tears on the poverty of the country on the one hand, and creating the false impression of its being prosperous on the other? What is the meaning of this puzzle? There is one more point. The Government band played the national anthem. Was it not proper that the lovers of their country should have sung India's national songs along with it? Is it the duty of India's sons to show disrespect to the mother-country in the name of serving her. We, says the paper, abstain from writing anything more on this heart-rending subject.

The Lahore Exhibition.

Hitavada, Dec. 16th, 1909.

55. The *Hitavada* [Calcutta] of the 16th December doubts the legality of the presentation of an address to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Congress Committee of Madras, and asks the Congress leaders to consider the question.

The legality of the address to the Viceroy.

Hitavada, Dec. 16th, 1909.

56. Under the heading noted in the margin, the *Sir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 19th December attempts a reply to the complaint that the people in general do not co-operate with the police in arresting offenders in dacoity and other cases in the following terms:—It is a known fact that the police is at present considered the right hand of the Government. The Indians have always co-operated with the English, have laid their independence at their feet, they are content to live on a half meal. Now then the English should not say that the Indians do not co-operate with them. Have they forgotten the incidents of the siege of Arcot when the Indian sepoys gave away the rice, and themselves lived on the water in which that rice was boiled? Have they forgotten the times when they extended their rule in this country with the help of the Indian soldiers? The spirit of co-operation displayed by the Indians is not to be found in the history of the world. They spared nothing to please the English. They imitated their rulers by changing their language and their clothes. We have exported our articles by depriving the Indian artisans of the means of their livelihood; yet our rulers are not satisfied with us; they have not the least faith in us. It was only the other day that they partitioned Bengal without paying the least regard to the sentiments of the Bengali nation. The event created a great consternation in the country, but Lord Morley disregarded the strong public feeling and declared the measure as a settled fact. In a rich and prosperous country like England the agitation of the labouring classes creates a terror in the minds of statesmen. The heart trembles to recall to mind the mortality caused by plague and famine in India during the last few years, but the labouring classes in this country have not yet learnt to agitate, as is done in civilised countries. These people do not yet understand their rights. Hence the educated men of the country thought of enriching it by starting the swadeshi agitation; but this idea, too, did not meet with the approval of our rulers, and our leaders are enjoying the air of the Jails, having fallen into the whirl pool of that agitation. We wanted to make our rulers and ourselves happy, having surrendered to them our all, even our self-respect, but still we failed to gain their confidence. All our hopes have proved in vain, and our leaders have been humiliated. How then can we venture to offer our help to the police? What else can be our duty but to silently sit and look on?

How can there be co-operation?

Bombay Samachar, Dec. 19th, 1909.

A curious thing is still about the dacoities that are now-a-days being perpetrated in this country. They are said to be the deeds of spirited, English-knowing youths of the country, who are fully wanting in that courage, capacity for suffering, and patience that are required for committing such crimes. We do not say that it is altogether impossible for the Bengali youths to commit raids on railway trains, plunder treasuries, and set fire to houses; and while committing them, not to forget to put on the golden spectacles and fancy shoes. Is it not more probable that these crimes are committed by real dacoits who dress themselves like gentlemen simply with a view to impose on the police.

Why the Bengalis alone, the entire population of India, are ever ready to help the police, but the latter does not know how to obtain it. The eye of the police is now-a-days on such young men who possess a robust constitution. Such being the case, co-operation means to help the police by having those young men arrested by them. God save us from offering such co-operation. Another reason why the Bengalis do not mix with the police, is that most of its members are either up-country men or the whites, and with these a peace-loving Bengali can have no sympathy. The difference in the methods of their living, and more especially the difference in the language spoken by them, are great stumbling blocks to co-operation between them.

Bm Bharat, 11th Dec. 1909.

57. Referring to the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by the Congress Committee of Madras, in which His Excellency wished that the Political Associations should show their co-operation with the Government, the *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 16th December remarks:—But the fact is that even the best Counsels of the Indians are sometimes listened to with suspicion by the Government. How can then the wishes of the Viceroy be realised?

The Viceroy's wishes.

Sahha Darpan, Dec. 15th, 1909.

58. The *Samaj Darpan* [Salkea] of the 15th December says that in the present extremely degenerate condition of India it is simply madness to try for its independence. The country is like a fair garden that has been left uncared-for for centuries and has grown poison-trees, and requires, as such a garden requires, a good fencing for regeneration. The British Government is such a fencing for India. India has not as yet acquired such power in her own body as to be able to defend herself without extraneous help. The pulsation that is at present being felt in her is a beneficial consequence of British rule. This is why no intelligent Indian thinks ill of the English.

The necessity of British rule for India.

Bangavasi, Dec. 18th, 1909.

59. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 18th December says that the statistics of the foreign trade of India to which English writers frequently refer to prove that the country is prospering materially at a rapid pace, are generally misleading. Most of the imports of the country are manufactured articles, while most of its exports are agricultural produce, including rice which is the principal food-stuff of the Indian people. India is clad by foreign-made cloths; the race of her weavers is almost extinct. The glitter of English education made the Indians forget that foreign-made cloths were contaminated with impure articles. Fortunately, however, a few mills have been started in the country, in Bombay particularly, where the Indians are manufacturing cloth for themselves. The jute trade in Bengal is mostly in the hands of Europeans. Besides this, the growing cultivation of jute does, by causing a proportionate decrease in the cultivation of paddy, cause scarcity of food-grains in the country. The industry of manufacturing high class woollen articles is almost dead in India. Intoxicating spirits are manufactured in large quantities, but only to ruin poor families. The paper mills in India are all in the hands of foreigners. The export of rice causes famines, and makes the country dependant on Burma for its supply of food-grains. The industry of mineral oils in Burma is pining under the heavy pressure of foreign competition. The sugar industry is moribund. The tea industry is mainly in the hands of foreigners, and has turned poor Indians into tea-drinkers.

The question of India's commercial prosperity.

All this does not of course prove the prosperity of at least the inhabitants of India. The export is no doubt greater than the import, but we send away gold and receive tinsel instead. The well known Home charges have to be

mist from the exports. The result of all this is that a chronic poverty prevails among the Indians.

60. The *Hindi Bangwasi* [Calcutta] of the 20th December sent a further sign of ill-luck for India in the import of four cows from Liverpool.

Hindi Bangwasi, Dec. 20th, 1909.

Import of cows in India.

61. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 16th December writes:—

Sanjivani, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The deportations.

A year has passed and the nine Indian patriots are still in exile and shut up in prison. It was on the 11th December, 1908, that the Government deported Srijukta Krishna Kumar without trial; and on the 12th December followed the deportation of Srijukta Aswinikumar. These gentlemen, along with Satischandra, Subodh Chandra Monomunjon, Sachindra Prasad, Syamsundar, Pulin Chandra and Bhupesh Chandra, who have also been deported, are still passing their days in prison.

The period of their detention will be over some day, and on that day people will cease to count the days. But the ineffaceable mark of disgrace which these deportations have placed on the great name of British rule in India, is never to be removed.

Krishna Kumar and Aswini Kumar have been deported without trial. In the British Empire even a murderer or a man charged with any other heinous crime is not punished without trial. But still the officials did not feel any scruple to punish noble, saintly men like Krishna Kumar and Aswini Kumar without trial.

These patriots have been deported without trial, but we will not say that they have been punished without trial. Their offence was that they loved their country. Save and except this, nobody, be he an official or a member of the public, can lay any charge against them. The Government has punished them and inflicted sufferings on them, but has never dared to bring a charge against them in a Court of Law or in the Parliament. The only offence which Krishna Kumar, Aswani Kumar and the other patriots who have been deported have committed was that they loved their country and served it.

Language has not yet been able to give expression to the mortification which the persecution of these patriots has caused to the entire population of India, and to the agitation which it has created in their minds. Questions have been asked in Parliament by friends of India, and the evasive and fallacious answers which the officials have given have often led the people to think that the Government had no answer in support of its act, and to hope that it would therefore uphold justice by releasing the deported patriots, for man cannot easily part with his instinct of justice. But this hope has been frustrated over and over again.

A year has passed and the entire country has grown impatient. How much longer are Krishna Kumar, pre-eminent among men, Aswini Kumar and the other patriots to be kept in prison? When will Government correct its error and undo the wrong it has committed?

We know that the deliverance of a fallen nation requires sacrifices. And so we do not wish to give vent to useless grief for Krishna Kumar, Aswini Kumar, and that others. This unprecedented event has shocked and grieved the people of India into silence. But how much longer will they keep silent and desist from expressing the keen mortification they feel, and from protesting against the deportations?

The protest meeting which was to have been held in the Town Hall on Saturday next has, we hear, been postponed for the present. A strong agitation will soon be set on foot in this country against the deportations. How much longer will you remain in peace after deporting the Indian patriots?

62. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 17th December writes:—

Daily Hitavadi, Dec. 17th, 1909.

The fate of the deportees.

On the 13th December, 1908, the nine foremost men of the two Bengals were deported—a full year has elapsed quickly since then. We do not know for how many years more they will have to pay the penalty of their crimes. Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti has become weak with indigestion, Babu Aswini Kumar's diabetes is increasing rather than decreasing,—there is no speaking of the sorrows of the deportees. We hear that a mournful anniversary of this great sorrow

was celebrated at Jhalkati ately. The people of that place revived their memories of the hopeless wreck of many lives and many crores, and thereby discharged their sorrowful obligation. And from the hearts of the whole educated Bengali community go up to the feet of the Most High countless words of heart-felt sorrow. The innocent and peaceably disposed Indians are suffering the sorrows of imprisonment in some distant land, and we envy only the sorrowful memory of their lot. This is our appointed lot.

Hitvadi, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The opium sale.

63. Referring to the increase of income from the sale of opium, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 16th December remarks:—This money will after all be spent on the maintenance of the whites.

Daily Hitavadi, Dec. 14th, 1909.

The party struggle in England.

64. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th December, in referring to the present struggle between the two political parties in England, writes that from the Indian's point of view both parties are the same, since the methods of Indian rule continue unchanged under both, who stand to the former in the relation of rulers or masters. Of course, so long as the present political turmoil in England continues, no attention will be paid to Indian concerns in Parliament, with the result that the management of affairs here will be left unreservedly in the hands of the Anglo-Indians, whether this spells gains or loss one cannot tell. The difference between a Liberal and Conservative from the Indian point of view is that, while the latter gives the downright unpleasant hints, the former resorts to unmeaning flattery. Unionist success at the next election may perhaps be desired, if it means the adoption of the Tariff Reform in India. But whether such good fortune will ever be India's is doubtful. At any rate a change of masters is to be desired—Lord Morley's vain assumption of superiority has come to be unpleasant.

Sanjivani, Dec. 16th, 1909.

The St. Andrew's Dinner and Sir Lawrence Jenkins.

65. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 16th December has the following :—

We learn from the *Times of India* that the absence of Sir Lawrence Jenkins at the St. Andrew's Dinner was due to the fact of a section of the European mercantile community being opposed to his being invited to it, though later on an invitation was sent to him. Sir Lawrence, however, declined to attend the dinner. The cause of this ill-feeling against the Chief Justice of Bengal was that his judgments in the Barrah Dacoity case and the Midnapur Appeal case were resented by the merchants. Indeed, Sir Lawrence has committed a serious offence by following the dictates of his conscience, and dealing out even-handed justice. And that is why some members of the Anglo-Indian community wanted to boycott him. He would no doubt have been held in great favour by them, if he could bring himself to sacrifice his conscience. How many such mean-minded men are there in the Anglo-Indian community ?

Behar Bandhu, Dec. 16th, 1909.

Mr. Mackarness retiring from Parliament.

66. The *Bihar Bandhu* [Calcutta] of the 18th December regrets to learn that Mr. Mackarness means to retire from Parliamentary life. Since he fought for the deportees so hard, the paper would have him continue as a Member of Parliament as, in its opinion, there is every hope of his endeavours being crowned with success one day.

Nayak, Dec. 18th, 1909.

Statues of Lord Curzon and Sir Andrew Fraser.

67. We understand, says the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 18th December, that the statues which are to perpetuate the memories of Lord Curzon and Sir Andrew Fraser have arrived in this country, and that the promoters of the memorials have not yet been able to choose the sites on which they will erect the statues. We would suggest that Lord Curzon's statue should be placed at Ramnagar near Benares, and Sir Andrew Fraser's statue should be put up at Midnapore.

Hindi Bangavasi, Dec. 20th, 1909.

Lord Curzon's statue.

68. Seeing that the statues of Lord Curzon and Sir Andrew Fraser are about to be erected on the Esplanade, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 20th December remarks:—Lord Curzon's statue is very imposing. Is not this the reward for his having effected the partition of Bengal ?

Utkal Patrika.

69. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December is surprised to find that both India and England are in high election fever. It has the following remarks on the Reform Scheme:—

The Utkaldipika on the Reform Scheme.

"Whether it is or is not a great boon to the country, opinions are divided. But of one thing we may be certain, that it is a product of progressive policy which respects and recognises the voice of the people. The regulations issued by Government supplementing the Indian Council's Act are in our opinion defective and open to criticism in several particulars. The most painful feature of the regulations has been that a large section of the non-Islamic educated community has been shut out, while special favour has been shown to a certain class of Muhammadan graduates. Many of the Muhammadans, otherwise highly qualified, have not been able to vote, and have thus been left in the dark."

Utkaldipika, Dec. 11th, 1909.

70. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December thanks His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for permitting Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji to compete for a seat on the Bengal Legislative Council under the Reform Scheme, provided Mr. Banerji has a mind to serve on that Council, and observes that this graceful act on the part of His Honour has made people believe that whenever any defect in the scheme will be brought to the notice of His Honour, His Honour will no doubt try to rectify it at once.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal thanked.

Utkaldipika, Dec. 11th, 1909.

71. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December is of opinion that the linking together of Orissa and Chota Nagpur in so far as the landlords are concerned is neither a happy nor a just arrangement. The land-tenures of both the Divisions are distinct from each other in many essential particulars, and a representative, taken from one Division, cannot be expected to know the grievances of the other Division. It would be far better to give an alternative chance to each of the Divisions. The best solution is to grant one seat to Chota Nagpur and another to Orissa.

One seat for each of Chota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions advocated.

Utkaldipika, Dec. 11th, 1909.

72. Referring to the prorogation of the British Parliament, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December is sorry to note that a change of Ministry, incident to such a condition, will have a baneful effect on the administration of India, for the Indians will run the risk of losing their friends in the British Parliament. The Indians will have thus to go through an anxious period, not knowing what is in the womb of futurity.

The prorogation of the British Parliament and its effect on India.

Nilachal Samachar, Dec. 10th, 1909.

73. Mr. Sribatsa Panda, a correspondent of the *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 10th December writes a long letter to it, pointing out the fact that the Mahantas or trustees of religious endowments in India are wasting or mismanaging the properties entrusted to their charge, and that the moral, physical and the religious education of the country could have been well advanced by the help of these endowments, provided their managers were brought to feel a sense of responsibility in the cause of the country.

Mr. Sribatsa Panda on religious endowments in India.

Samvad Vahika, Dec. 9th, 1909.

74. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 9th December is of opinion that the inefficiency of the Indian Police has been already proved in the Judicial Courts from one end of India to the other. It agrees with the Calcutta *Statesman* in the latter's observation that "it is useless to disguise the fact that the corruption and dishonesty of the police are at present at least as conspicuous as their want of intelligence."

The inefficiency of the Indian Police noted.

Nilachal Samachar, Dec. 10th, 1909.

75. A correspondent of the *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 10th December is highly offended at the unwise observation of Pandit Madhusudan Tarakabachaspati, belonging to the Barakhemedi State in Ganjam, to the effect that there is no competent Uriya to hold the post of Dewan under

Mr. Bachaspati on the administration of Barakhemedi.

the Raja of that State, and that a European officer should be appointed to look after its interests. The writer hopes that Mr. Beckett will soon find an opportunity to change his views on the subject, and to declare the same before the public.

Cuttack Dec. 12th, 1868.

76. The *Goriatheatist* [Talcher] of the 11th December gives an account of the visit which Mr. Lovinge paid to different institutions in that State, and observes that Mr. Lovinge was ostensibly satisfied with what he saw therein. The people of Talcher are grateful to him for his pluck in killing a man-eating tiger, 8 feet 8 inches long, and thereby relieving Talcher of a great pest. It is said that Mr. Lovinge's skill as a practised hunter is simply incomparable.

Inspection of Talcher by Mr. Lovinge, and the hunting of a terrible man-eater by him.

Sambalpur Hitaishini Dec. 11th, 1868.

77. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 11th December approvingly quotes those portions of the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy delivered, in the presence of Native Princes in India, during His Excellency's tour throughout that country, which deal with the relations of Native States with the Paramount Power, and hopes that a clear exposition of the policy, pursued by the Supreme Government in relation to those States, will edify not only the minds of the Chiefs of Native States, but make them contented and more loyal, in so far as their dealings with that Government are concerned.

The tour speeches of His Excellency noticed.

Utkal Dipika, Dec. 12th, 1868.

78. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December writes the following paragraph in support of its contention that the revision settlement is a source of great trouble both to the landlord and the tenant:—

Revision settlement, a source of trouble both to the landlord and the tenant.

"We have repeatedly and in vain drawn the attention of our authorities to the inconvenience both the landlords and the raiyats are put to on account of the Settlement Officers' commencing their work in the mufassal just at the time when the collection of rent for *Lathsandi* purposes commences. It is very well known that the rents are mainly collected by the landlords twice in the year on *Lathsandi* occasions, and the collection work commences a week before the due dates, *i.e.*, 23th April and 8th November, and is continued chiefly for a week after those dates. This year the crops being promising and there having been very timely rain on the 26th October last, the zamindars thereafter were busy in sending out peons to the raiyats calling upon them to come over to the zamindar's cutchery for paying rent. They had calculated upon good collection, but on the 1st November the Assistant Settlement Officers encamped in different parts of the country, and forthwith orders were sent out to the raiyats and landlords to attend the Settlement offices, which, as usual, sit from morning till midnight. This upset the whole thing, and the landlords were unable to make good progress in collection which resulted in partial defaults in good many cases. No inconvenience would have been occasioned had the Assistant Settlement Officers commenced their work from the 15th of that month. In April also a fortnight's cessation of settlement work, or in other words exemption to the raiyats and landlords from attending the Settlement offices a week before and after the 23th is necessary. May we again ask our sympathetic and worthy Commissioner and the Collector to intercede in the matter? Some may say that the inconvenience may be removed by fixing dates for raiyats of different parts of the zamindaries, but it must be remembered that the raiyats are very poor and they have to make arrangements by sale of grains or otherwise for payment of rents due by them."

Sambalpur Hitaishini, Dec. 11th, 1868.

79. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 11th December is surprised to learn that three man-eating tigers simultaneously attacked a resident of Daudesinge, in pargana Barkote in Bamra, tearing him to pieces before devouring him at one swoop.

Three man-eaters after one man in Bamra.

Utkaldipika, Dec. 11th, 1868.

80. Mr. Shamacharan Mahanti, a correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December writes in its columns a letter, pointing out that a tiger has killed 150 head of cattle and three horses in the villages adjoining the Sahadiha Hill on the Birupa, in pargana Alti, Jajpur subdivision of the Cuttack district. The tiger is said to have migrated from Darpan Hills to the Alti Hills.

A man-eating tiger in Jajpur.

The villagers are so terror-stricken that all traffic in it a standstill. The District Magistrate-Collector is requested to kill the man-eater without any more delay. The editor observes that the people have become so emasculated under the pressure of poverty and its attendant evils, and under the rigorous administration of the Indian Arms Act, that they have found it necessary to ask the help of a District Officer in the matter of killing a wild animal—a sad comment on the strength of the people.

81. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 10th December is of opinion that the residents of villages in the district of Orissa should combine and repair the tanks, which are the only sources of water-supply in many villages, cleanse the village roads, and clear off shrubs and jungles situated in village sites without waiting for the help of the District Boards, which have hardly funds sufficient for the purpose. Unless the people of Orissa adopt these sanitary measures, they are sure to be visited by malaria, which has proved to be the curse of Bengal proper.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, Dec. 10th, 1909.

A piece of advice to the villagers in Orissa.

82. The *Ganjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 11th December states that the foot-and-mouth disease prevails among the cattle in Talcher.

GANJATBASINI, Dec. 11th, 1909.

Cattle disease in Talcher.

83. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 10th December is surprised to learn that Mahanta Madhusudan Tirthaswami, of the Gobardhana *Math* in Puri, suddenly disappeared in a mysterious way from the sphere of his action. He was seen to work till midnight on a rainy and stormy day, but was found nowhere in the *Math* on the next morning. From the papers and records that he has left behind for the benefit of his disciple, it appears that he has neither taken any money nor any winter clothes with him. His direction to the disciple that he must not be sought after henceforward makes some think that the Swami-Mahanta is absorbed in *yoga* (meditation) somewhere.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, Dec. 10th, 1909.

The mysterious disappearance of the Mahanta of Gobardhana Math, in Puri.

84. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 11th December mourns the death of Sir William Macpherson, which happened at home on the 24th of November last. He was for some time a District Magistrate of Cuttack, and also the District Judge of the same district. As an officer, he won golden opinions from the people of the Orissa Province. He was both kind and just. His elevation to the High Court Bench was received with great pleasure by the people of Orissa. He was knighted soon for his excellent qualities. May his spirit rest in peace!

UTKALDIPIKA, Dec. 11th, 1909.

The demise of Sir William Macpherson mourned.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA SASTRI,
Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 25th December, 1909.

S. S. Press—24-12-1909—415E—25—J. A. M. and others.

[CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 48 of 1909.

REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending Saturday, 25th December 1909.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
List of native-owned English newspapers received and dealt with by the Bengal Special Branch ...	889
I.—FOREIGN POLITICS.	
Nil.	
II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.	
(a)—Police—	
The Indian police	891
The Tirupil murder case	do.
The Midnapore sedition case and the Cuttack dacoity case	do.
A typical swadeshi case	do.
The Hogulkan dacoity	892
(b)—Working of the Courts—	
Nil.	
(c)—Jails—	
Nil.	
(d)—Education—	
Nil.	
(e)—Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration—	
Nil.	
(f)—Questions affecting the land—	
Nil.	
(g)—Railways and Communications, including Canals and Irrigation—	
Nil.	
(h)—General—	
The Midnapore case	893
Punic-messages and their work	895
The coming events	do.
III.—LEGISLATION.	
The manifesto	895
The manifesto and Anglo-Indian opinion	896
The manifesto	do.
The Statesman on the manifesto	do.
The Englishman and the manifesto	897
The manifesto on the Councils Regulations ...	do.
The disqualification of Mr. Kelkar	898
Mr. Kelkar	do.
The Kelkar incident	do.
The lion and the other beasts	899
IV.—NATIVE STATES.	
Nil.	
V.—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.	
Nil.	
VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.	
The congress	899
India's future	do.
The Statesman's vile attack on the Patrika ...	900
The congress	do.

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

REPORT (PART II)

CONFIDENTIAL

Madras, Bangalore, Calcutta & Simla, December 1908

LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED AND DEALT WITH BY THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH.

[*As it stood on 1st January 1909.*]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
1	"Amrita Bazar Patrika"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	K. P. Chatterji, age 45, Brahmin ...	4,000
2	"Behar Herald" ...	Patna ...	Weekly ...	Manmatha Nath Dey, age 40, Pleader of Bankipore.	600
3	"Bijnavee"	Bankipore ...	Bi-weekly ...	Sham Sunder Sahai, Pleader, and P. P. Sharma of Muzaffarpur.	700
4	"Bengalee"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	S. N. Banerji, Kali Prasanna Sen, age 38, and Kali Nath Roy.	4,000
5	"Bihar"	Patna ...	Weekly ...	Kali Kumar Sinha, B.A., B.L., Pleader of Bankipore, age 36, Kayastha.	700
6	"Hindoo Patriot" ...	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	Satish Chandra Sarvadhikari, age 40, and Keylash Ch. Kanjilal, Pleader, Sealdah Small Causes Court.	800
7	"Indian Empire" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	Kesab Chandra Banerjee, B.A., age 48, Brahmin, and Panchanan Mazumdar, age 36, Hindu Baidya.	1,000
8	"Indian Mirror" ...	Ditto ...	Daily ...	Raj Narendra Nath Sen Bahadur, age 60, Head of the Mahabodi Society.	1,000
9	"Indian Nation" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	N. N. Ghose, age 38, Bar-at-Law ...	800
*10	"Indian Tit-Bits" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Satis Ch. Mukerjee *alias* M. Suttie, age 27, Brahmin.	500
11	"Kayastha Messenger"	Gaya ...	Do. ...	Jugal Kishore, age 36, Kayastha ...	800
†12	"Moslem Chronicle" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Abdul Hamid, B.A., age 37, Muhammadan.	700
13	"Mussulman" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	A. Rasul and M. Rahman, Muhammadans	800
14	"Rois and Rayyet" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Jogesh Chandra Dutt, age 54, a Calcutta house-owner.	800
15	"Star of Utkal" ...	Cuttack ...	Do. ...	Khetrabs Ch. Roy Chowdhry, age 62, retired Head Master of a Government College.	400
16	"Telegraph" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Satyendra Nath Bose, B.A., age 31 ...	3,000

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

†1	"Day's News" ...	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	Babu Premananda Bharati, age 30, Hindu.	500
2	"Karmayogin" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	Editor's name not known for certain. Arabinda Ghose is one of the contributors to the paper.	2,000
†3	"National Daily" ...	Ditto ...	Daily ...	Babu Premananda Bharati, age 30, Hindu	500

* Defunct.

† The issue of these papers has been suspended for a time.

II.—Home Administration.

(c)—*Police.*

1143. Commenting on the letter of "R" in the *Spectator* on the "Indian police and the Drums of confession," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that every one who has witnessed the operation at the thana, or at an investigation by a "daroga" of the ordinary type, will at once bear out the truth of the writer's description—"Prevarication, cuffs and blows, more prevarication, more blows and perhaps kicks," etc. The remedy to this disgraceful state of things is, of course, the raising of the intellectual and moral level of the force by the larger employment, in the higher grades of the service, of educated Indians of the type from which Deputy Magistrates and Munsifs are recruited. Meanwhile the evil might be considerably checked by exercising vigilant control on investigating officers of subordinate grades. But till the higher authorities, including Judges, are not disposed to deal sternly with the offenders, any improvement is out of the question.

The Indian police.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th Dec. 1909.

1144. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that the most peculiar feature of this case is that first five persons were challaned by the police for murder on the discovery of a rotten corpse in a boat, on the statement of a woman, who was kept by one of them. Next it transpired that they were in no way connected with the foul deed, it having been committed by some one else, who is not to be found. But the strangest part of the affair is that the body was not of the person alleged to have been murdered by the five men, but of another individual who has since been missing. Even after this new development, it is said, the application for bail on behalf of one of the accused was refused. It was not till the Deputy Superintendent of Police had taken up the enquiry into the matter that the unfortunate men were released. It is hoped the matter will be enquired into by the subdivisional officer.

The Tangail murder case.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th Dec. 1909.

1145. With regard to the alleged victims in the Midnapore coolie case, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has no doubt that, after the Chief Justice's remarks, Sir Edward Baker will order a sifting enquiry into the matter, if it has not already been instituted.

Should the police be unable to justify their conduct in this connection, the journal feels sure His Honour will deal severely with them. The Bengal Police, it has been said, had come to the conclusion that these coolies were only tools in the hands of the real plotters, but do the latter, in their confessions, say so? The paper does not find it. And then if the police were convinced that the coolies were merely tools, how was it that nothing was suggested by them to that effect when prosecuting them? Indeed, but for the confessions of the accused in the Alipore bomb case, the public would have never known that the coolies were innocent as Mr. Norton says. The confessions in question having been accepted as genuine, the conclusion is inevitable that the coolies are innocent. If so, the Midnapore coolie case discloses the same gruesome tale, in all its details, as the Cuttack dacoity case, and in the one as in the other, neither the Police Superintendent nor the District Magistrate nor the committing Magistrate, nor even the Sessions Judge could detect the terrible fraud which was fastened on them. Contemplation of cases like these gives rise to the question—When will the Government save the people from the evils arising out of the union of functions, Judicial and Executive, in the district officer? The matter calls for the prompt and serious consideration of the Government. The result of the investigation in the Midnapore coolie case should be made public in the interests of all parties concerned.

The Midnapore coolie case and the Cuttack dacoity case.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th Dec. 1909.

1146. In publishing the following account of what it calls a typical *swadeshi* case, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that the peculiar features which mark out cases of this kind, call for a careful study, especially on the part of the rulers, as they show

A typical *swadeshi* case.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th Dec. 1909.

how the subordinate police and magistracy have been influenced by their impression of the attitude of the powers that be towards the *swadeshi* movement. One Durga Kundu, of village Madhupur, was picked up on the 18th of February last in a half-dead state under a banyan tree. In his dying declaration he made a statement to the effect that he had been attacked and wounded by five persons, whom he named, and who had a *swadeshi* case against him. On the strength of this statement 3 Brahmins, 1 Kayastha and 1 Muhammadan, were arrested and locked up in the sub-jail. Bail was applied for twice and twice refused by the subdivisional officer. The Sessions Judge on being moved also declined to interfere. They therefore continued to rot in prison while the police searched high and low for evidence. After they had been subjected a month and a half to indescribable agony of mind and body, the police report was sent in in 'C Form.' The police had to admit defeat as they could not discover a scrap of evidence against them. One would naturally think that here was an end to the gentlemen's troubles, and that they would be let go. But no, they were only let out on bail of Rs. 200 each. Then opened the second chapter of their misfortune. The police officer who had failed to run in the accused was transferred, and a second enquiry was set on foot as a result of which the accused were hauled up before the subdivisional officer. There were now witnesses forthcoming to testify to the guilt of the accused, and they were committed to the Sessions. And this in spite of the complainant almost spoiling the whole business, by declaring that it was not the accused who had murderously assaulted him, but others. But the *swadeshi* accused must be brought to book even though their identification was proved to have been a mistake altogether. In fact the committing Magistrate wrote that "though he was empowered to try the case, as the charges under section 307 were not sustainable, he thought the punishment should be more severe than what he could inflict by law, as a deadly assault was made on the person of the accused." As for the guilt of the accused he left the matter to the higher Court. The Sessions trial, however, ended with the acquittal of all the accused. The assessors unanimously found them "not guilty" and the Judge agreed with them. The statement of the complainant Durga was pronounced to be not worthy of belief. But though finally acquitted, there is no reparation for the accused who underwent a month and a half's confinement, though absolutely innocent.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 20th Dec. 1908.

The Hogulbon dacoity.

1147. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that in these days of police rule, when the guardians of peace in India are credited with performing feats such as have excited wonder even in Parliament, the following account of this dacoity may well be taken to add to their laurels: Some time ago a dacoity was alleged to have been committed in the house of one Baroda Kanta Mandal of village Hogulbon. A police inquiry followed with the result that two Muhammadans were sent up as accused and, as usual, confined in *hajat*. An application for bail was submitted on their behalf, but it was rejected by Mr. Hamilton, the District Magistrate, on the ground, apparently, that he could see from the police papers that there was reliable evidence to connect the accused with the dacoity. The verve and vigour shown by the police very naturally created the impression that they had all the evidence on their finger's ends. The subsequent result, however, showed that the prosecution case had no legs to stand on, for it collapsed just as the Midnapore one had done, the District Superintendent eventually admitting that the case was sent up by mistake. But "one man's mistake is another man's death," runs the proverb. The accused, though absolutely innocent, suffered long confinement, in addition to the mental and physical suffering inseparable from the position of under-trials in a police case of this kind. And all through a "mistake"!

(h)—*General.*

INDIAN NATION, 26th Dec. 1908.

The Midnapore case.

1148. The *Indian Nation* states that from the reply which the Master of Elibank gave to a question of Mr. Mackarness, it appears that Mr. Macpherson's report on the Midnapore enquiry has not yet reached the India Office. This is rather

unfettered as the public in India are awaiting with eager impatience the result of the action of the authorities. The Midnapore inquiry came to be regarded as a test case between the official solicitude for police prestige and the interests of the public. The judicial finding was so damaging to the reputation of the police and the allegations against the investigating officers so serious, that the necessity for departmental enquiry was obvious to all. It is hoped the interpellation in Parliament will grease the official wheels, and that the Local Government will eventually establish their bona fides by proving that the police in India are not their own judges in such cases.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 3rd Dec. 1908.

1149. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that Colonel Holdich, who has been exposing his views in a London paper, hits the right nail on the head when he says with regard to anarchists, that if the guardians of the "irresponsible young fools" had the slightest notion that their hair-brained wards were seized with anarchical ideas, they would at once lock them up and prevent their committing any misdeed. But it is as impossible to dissuade a suicide from self-destruction as it is to argue with a homicidal monomaniac and convince him of the danger and enormity of the crime of taking others' lives. The real difficulty that stands in the way is that neither a suicide nor an anarchist will confide his secret to any body. What he does is to brood over his idea in seclusion and then accomplish his object all of a sudden. It was thus in the very nature of things impossible to control the few anarchist youths who came into existence in India. But, as Colonel Holdich points out, they can never prove politically dangerous as they are an unorganised body, and are thus not able to act in concert. The circulation, in 1908, of the rumours and reports about an organised conspiracy and anarchism by panic-mongers, was attended with disastrous results. Hundreds of houses were searched by the police. Innocent men were hauled-up, kept in custody and then released. The memory of the terrible spectacle which Midnapore presented for full six months, yet sits like a nightmare on the breasts of the people. Peace, has however, again been restored, and it is hoped that Lord Minto will see his way to confer boons on the people on the eve of his departure from this country; which will enable them to cherish his name gratefully, and strengthen their attachment to British rule.

Panic-mongers and their work.

Bengalee, 31st Dec. 1908.

1150. As the preliminary arrangements in connection with the next census have been taken in hand by Mr. E. A. Gait, the Census Commissioner, the *Hindoo Patriot* offers the following suggestion for the satisfactory working of the operations: On the last occasion the initial arrangements were open to objection for various reasons. The task was to a great extent done through honorary agencies which, while being advantageous to the State from a financial point of view, were objectionable on certain grounds. The host of supervisors and enumerators that were appointed on the occasion were composed of men belonging to permanent service either under Government or in private employment. The utilization of such honorary labour very seriously hampers the work of private offices because they have not in most cases a very large staff at their command, and cannot, therefore, conveniently spare their men for census operations. Of course the mandate of Government must be obeyed, but at the same time the private employers can justly ask the Government to spare their men because their absence would entail serious inconvenience in their work. It would be much better and cause no sort of inconvenience to private employers if they are invited by the Census Commissioner to furnish the names of persons employed under them, whom they can conveniently spare for census work. The employees could then make arrangements to prevent their work being prejudicially affected.

The coming census.

Hindoo Patriot, 31st Dec. 1908.

III.—Legislation.

1151. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says the object of the manifesto signed by thirteen leading men of Bengal, protesting against the Reform Regulations, is not quite clear to it. The Regulations must remain in force for three years, and during this period

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24th Dec. 1908.

The manifesto.

there is obviously no chance of any modifications being made. The signatories want that the Regulations might be revised on broader lines. This is no doubt an object devoutly to be wished for, but then even some of the Anglo-Indian papers are of opinion that this is bound to be done. The journal observes by the way, that the real sting in the Scheme lies in the racial distinction made, and the inferior political status given to the Hindus. But the matter has not been touched in the manifesto, though the signatories are all Hindus.

BENGALEE, 31st Dec. 1908.

The manifesto and Anglo-Indian opinion.

1152. Commenting on the opinion of the *Englishman* that the hostility of the professional classes has not been caused by any essential feature of the Reform Scheme but by a comparatively unimportant detail in the qualifications, and that the leaders in the mufassal, who have endeavoured by quiet unobtrusive work to improve the affairs of their town or their district by service on the Municipal Committee or the Local Board, will welcome the decision of the Government to secure for each constituency a man who really knows something about its affairs, the *Bengalee* says the *Englishman* is evidently in blissful ignorance of the fact that 7 out of the 13 signatories to the manifesto are mufassal leaders who have, every one of them, been connected at some stage or other in their career with either a District Board or a Municipality. What is it that makes these men join the Calcutta leaders in their condemnation of the Regulations? Nothing could be more foolish than the suggestion that had it not been for the restriction imposed by an ill-conceived Regulation upon the choice of the District Boards and Municipalities, the latter could not have insisted upon a familiarity with the local conditions in the candidate of their choice. The paper declares the object of the Regulation was to exclude some of the most prominent political leaders from the Councils, and there could be no more striking proof that this was so than the fact that the *Englishman* supports it with all the power of vituperation and abuse at its command. The Muhammadan community have not been deprived of the privilege of contesting general seats, because special seats have been given to them, and they can have no incentive whatever for asking for facilities to merge themselves in the general election. On the other hand the other section of the community can never be reconciled to this measure, and the voice of protest emanating from them will grow louder and louder. At the same time, the Government itself will realise before long that it is not a very convenient thing to favour a particular community.

BENGALEE 19th Dec. 1908.

The manifesto.

1153. The *Bengalee* declares that the very strength of public sentiment now arrayed in opposition to the Regulations, is an index of the intense interest which the Reform Scheme had excited in the country. Evidence of the unanimity of public sentiment in the condemnation of the Regulations comes from all quarters. The Maharaja of Darbhanga is no agitator. But the injustice done to the middle class and the educated community has forced him to break his silence, and he presided at a public meeting, held on Sunday last, of the prominent citizens of Patna where it was agreed that "the Reform Regulations were defective and entailed great hardship on the educated middle class." Mr. Gokhale has been a thoroughgoing supporter of the Reform Scheme, but he is constrained to condemn the Regulations as they have been applied to disqualify Mr. Kelkar, Editor of the *Mahratta*. The order disqualifying Mr. Kelkar is an amazing instance of insensate blundering. Mr. Kelkar may profess extreme opinions. But he cannot enter the Council Chamber without taking the oath of allegiance, and once he is in the Council Chamber he stands face to face with the grave problems of administration with all their manifold complexities which must infallibly exercise a moderating influence upon his opinions. The Government, if it were wise, ought to facilitate the entry of such men into the enlarged Councils and associate them in the administration of the country. To keep them at arm's length is the height of unwisdom.

BENGALEE, 16th Dec. 1908.

The Statesman on the manifesto.

1154. With reference to the *Statesman's* suggestion that Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea should enter the Council and expose the objectionable features of the Police Bill, the *Bengalee* says that Babu Surendra Nath knows what it is to oppose a Bill

by argument, which cannot effectively be opposed by vote. Out-arguing, without being able to out-vote, may satisfy a purely intellectual temperament, but it does not satisfy a practical temperament which is quite as anxious to out-vote as to out-argue. It is precisely because the Councils, as they will be constituted under the Regulations, will not afford an opportunity to the representatives of the educated classes to out-vote the official members even on questions in respect of which truth and justice are entirely on their side, that they or the bulk of them have preferred to adopt an attitude either of aloofness or of indifference in regard to the new Councils. Add to this fact the sense of resentment which the educated community, particularly the educated Hindu community, naturally feel in being treated in the contemptuous way that they have been. So strong and so perfectly justifiable a sense of resentment must naturally weigh with every public man who values his position among his people, and no public man who knows his business would be justified in going against so universal a feeling, except when he feels sure that the advantages that his country will derive from such a step on his part will far outweigh any personal disadvantages that may accrue from it.

1155. With reference to the *Englishman's* comment on the manifesto, the *Bengalee* says that that journal, besides performing the negative function of increasing the discredit of unpopular Governmental measures by its unreasoning and blind advocacy of them, is losing all influence on the course of public life. The ideal it represents belongs to the past and not to the future. The Anglo-India to which it appeals is daily shrinking in area and importance being constantly pressed in upon by that larger opinion, that recognises the inherent impossibility of governing India except with the consent of its people. Every other organ of Anglo-Indian views in the metropolis guards its criticism of the Governments acts by the fundamental presupposition that no legislative enactment or executive Act can succeed if it goes against the unanimous wishes of the governed. Bengal's protest and agitation against the partition has taught the British residents of the country this salutary lesson, that it is only those who are not holders of vested interests and men without the least pretence to culture or education, who find a vent for their sentiments and ridiculously selfish demands in the columns of the Hare Street extremist. It is this fundamental presupposition which the educated Indian community are determined to convert into a principle of Government. The postponement of the Police Bill was an earnest of success and a happy augury of the new era. But the expectations of the people no less than the large-minded and far-seeing statesmanship that ventured to detect in the coming reforms the augury of a new era when Government was to be by persuasion and not by the cruder methods of autocracy, have received a set-back in the Regulations as actually framed.

The Englishman and the manifesto.

Bengalee, 17th Dec. 1908.

1156. Commenting on the manifesto, the *Hindoo Patriot* observes that when certain concessions have been made in deference to public feeling and with the desire of enlisting the co-operation of the educated classes, it is not a wise policy to hold back and refuse to comply with the wishes of the authorities. No compromise is possible without some sacrifice on the part of both parties. If one party insists on having its full share of flesh, there can hardly be any chance of a satisfactory settlement being arrived at. The Government welcomes legitimate criticisms of the Regulations, and this can easily be done by sending memorials to the proper authorities and by drawing their attention to the defects in various other ways. But this object can hardly be achieved by assuming an attitude of supine indifference or masterly inactivity in the face of the momentous constitutional changes that have been introduced. The paper does not think that the situation has been improved in any way by the publication of the manifesto. It is, moreover, so blissfuly vague that one can hardly understand what the signatories really intend to convey. Besides as the time has far advanced and the candidates have already been elected under the Regulations in force, it is hardly practicable to suspend the Regulations to meet the desire of the signatories of the manifesto. The paper has every confidence that at least in this Province Sir Edward Baker, judging from his earnestness to take the leaders into confidence, will take the earliest opportunity to get the rigours of the restrictions imposed

The manifesto on the Councils Regulations.

Hindoo Patriot, 17th Dec. 1908.

upon the educated community by the rules, palliated or removed altogether. It is, therefore, most and proper for the educated classes to strengthen the hands of Sir Edward Baker by co-operating with him in every possible way. It is a matter of great regret that persons of the position of the signatories of the statement do not realise the importance of co-operating with the Government at the present time when, fortunately, the clouds have lifted.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 16th Dec. 1909.

The disqualification of Mr. Kelkar.

1157. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that the case of Mr. Kelkar points to a moral which those who seek election under the new Reform Scheme, but have somehow incurred official displeasure, should bear in mind. It is that they have to run considerable risks, for, when a man is publicly declared to be disloyal by the ruling authorities of a province he may any moment be arrested and deported on a confidential report without being charged or put on his trial. And to this pass Mr. Kelkar has been reduced by his anxiety to serve the public in the reformed Council. But, if Mr. Kelkar finds himself in a disagreeable position, the general cannot congratulate the Government of Bombay on its wisdom and foresight. It has not rendered the Reform Scheme more popular by the action it has taken. While it has declared Mr. Kelkar as a man unworthy of a seat in the Council, a moderate leader, who has the confidence of Government like Mr. Gokhale, has come forward to certify that he is as good a gentleman as any in the country. Is this not a most queer situation for a responsible Government—the leading men of all shades of opinion in the province speaking in high terms of a person held in contempt by it?

Bengalee, 17th Dec. 1909.

Mr. Kelkar.

1158. The *Bengalee* declares nothing could have shown more clearly or more forcibly the real character of the extraordinary power vested in the Local Government by the Regulation relating to the disqualification of candidates than the order of the Government of Bombay disqualifying Mr. Kelkar. His candidature could only be interpreted as evidence of a desire on his part to utilise the opportunities for the discussion of public questions which the new Council would give. If Government had been wise, they would have taken the fullest advantage of this desire on the part of a man whom, in the past, they had believed to hold extreme opinions and who had been associated, for many years, with one of the foremost leaders of the party whom they regarded as "irreconcilables." If Mr. Kelkar had been an "irreconcilable" he would have taken no further action after the Government had disqualified him. To make a representation to Government, especially on such a matter, is inconsistent with the fundamental creed of the "irreconcilable." It is a thousand pities, therefore, that a representation so moderate and so entirely reasonable, as that submitted by Mr. Kelkar, should have failed to elicit a favourable reply from the Government. All that they said was that their decision had been made after a careful consideration of the question. And because the question had been carefully considered, Mr. Kelkar was not even to be afforded an opportunity of explanation! If this is not the negation of statesmanship, it is difficult to say what is. Evidently the theory of the settled fact has had something to do also in this case.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 17th Dec. 1909.

The Kelkar incident.

1159. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that it is now "a settled fact" with the Government of Bombay that Mr. Kelkar's reputation and antecedents are so very bad that he cannot be admitted into the Council without jeopardising public interest. And it arrived at this decision, it says, "after a careful consideration of the question." Now, when a question is "carefully" considered, it is essential that there should be evidence of an unimpeachable character pertinent to it before those engaged in deciding it. The journal enquires what evidence had the Government of Bombay in its hands at the time when it took upon itself to traduce the character of Mr. Kelkar in this terrible manner? It is due to the authorities themselves to show, as satisfactorily as possible, that they had incontestible proofs in their possession to establish their charge against the Mahratta gentleman. Continuing the paper says there are people who are under the impression that the members of the reformed Councils will exercise an effective voice in the administration of the country. The Kelkar disqualification incident ought to be an eye-opener to them. Mr. Gokhale enjoys the

confidence of the highest authorities. In espousing the cause of Mr. Kelkar he could not have been moved by any personal considerations. The very fact that Mr. Kelkar belonged to a rival party sufficiently indicates the pure motive of Mr. Gokhale. The latter also made it clear that in holding the public meeting through the Deccan Sava, he was no less concerned with the interests of the scheme of reforms than those of Mr. Kelkar. Yet his protest had not the slightest effect on the Government of Bombay which refused to remove the stigma from Mr. Kelkar's character.

SUDHARAK, 12th Dec. 1909.

1160. The *Sudharak* says the more closely one looks into the rules and regulations in connection with the reforms, the more one becomes impressed with their one-sided character and the studied exclusion of the educated community from a reasonable participation in them. Of late years the people have been frequently treated to homilies about qualifications for public services, and there are those who would fain apply the same principle to the present case and have it openly declared that education is not perhaps the best test of fitness in matters of representation. It is a common saying in forensic language that a hard case often makes bad laws, and in the present instance the necessity that has apparently arisen for the enunciation of such a novel and dangerous principle, is testimony of the utter unsoundness of the position, which having been created has now got to be anyhow justified. It may be argued that the district and municipal boards are quite open to the educated community, and that, as such, the alumni of the Universities have really no grievance to complain of. The journal asks how many prominent educated men are there on these local bodies, and how far is their position one of influence? Official influence largely preponderates in both these electorates and the obnoxious, stiffnecked educated men is always at a discount in official circles. Any one acquainted with the working of these bodies must know that there is generally a coalition between the official and the non-official nominated members on these boards, and it is but the barest truth that the latter element is often so designedly constituted as to clearly exclude not only the Hindu and Muhammadan graduates, but also all independent and inflexible "undesirables" of both communities. Then again so far as the Hindus are concerned, even these facts do not dispose of their case. The question of the lion's share has also to be considered. The Bengalis, the Mahrattas, the Parsis and the Sikhs all did the day's work and fought for their constitutional rights; but the moslem lion, who had been practically sleeping all the while, has now suddenly started up to demand his fabulous share in the booty. In conclusion the journal declares that both as a scheme of reform and as a measure of conciliation the present experiment has proved a failure.

The lion and the other beasts.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

BENGALEE, 18th Dec. 1909.

1161. The *Bengalee* fears that the popular hopes of a united congress are not to be realized at least this year. This fact is deeply regretted, for Bengal had set its heart upon a united congress. It is trusted, however, that the matter will not be permitted to lie where it is, but that the negotiations will be resumed under more favourable conditions. When the negotiations were set on foot this year, the moderate leaders urged that they should proceed upon the basis of the terms agreed to by all parties in 1908. The All-India Conference of both parties had agreed to the absolute and unconditioned subscription to the first article in the constitution popularly known as the "Creed." This article lays down that self-government within the Empire is the goal of congress aspirations, and constitutional agitation, the method for its attainment. The creed is nothing more or less than the definite and precise formulation of what has always been the aim and object of the congress. If they cannot have a united congress this year, the people should be content with the congress they have and attend it in large numbers.

The congress.

BENGALEE, 18th Dec. 1909.

1162. In the course of a conversation with Count Von Koonigsmarck, Prince Ranjitsinghji is said to have expressed the opinion that "the diverse elements of India will

India's future.

never be granted to a single nation." Commenting on this, the *Patrika* is at a loss to imagine how any Indian with the least spark of patriotism in him could have expressed an opinion of this kind. The paper does not know what the Prince's conception of fitness for self-government is, but evidently the Prince is one of those who think the possession of white colour to be the supreme qualification for self-government. It is not easy to understand what he means. Even Lord Morley qualified a similar statement by the phrase "for as long a time as my poor imagination can picture through." The Prince is not troubled by any doubt at all and uses the absolute term "never." Fortunately the country never expected much from noblemen of the type of this Prince. As a cricketer he has doubtless shed lustre upon his people, but that constitutes his single service to the land of his birth. It would have been better for him if he had stopped there and had not assumed the role of a political prophet.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31st Dec. 1908.

1163. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that the *Statesman* not only indulges in insinuations and suggestions both vile and false, by stating in a leading article in its Sunday's issue that Babu [illegible] Lall Ghose has not signed the creed of the Conventionist Congress because its three essentials are the maintenance of British rule, self-government and constitutional agitation, but also presents certain public questions in a way which is worse than mischievous. The non-conventionists never objected to the sentiments contained in the creed—indeed, they cannot do it without stultifying themselves for the good reason that these sentiments are embodied in one of the four Calcutta congress resolutions accepted by all non-conventionists—but to the arbitrary and unconstitutional manner in which it was sought to be fastened on them. The main difference between the two parties is that the non-conventionists maintain, with all their heart and soul that the so-called constitution drawn up for the congress is unconstitutional, being the work of a few conventionists and not of the whole body of congressmen. As a fact, the non-conventionists were deliberately shut out when the so-called constitution was prepared. If the Tories, for example, were to frame a creed, however excellent, for the guidance of the House of Commons in the absence of the Liberals and ask the latter to accept it, would they not consider it an insult?

The Statesman's vile attack on the Patrika.

Hindoo Patriot, 31st Dec. 1908.

1164. Referring to the failure of the attempt at bringing about a united congress, the *Hindoo Patriot* says those who decline to subscribe to the fundamental creed can never be expected to cast in their lot with the congress which now explicitly acknowledges its loyalty to the British throne and desires the permanency of British suzerainty in India. It is idle to talk of the co-operation, in the political advancement of the country, of those who ignore the lawfully established Government and are opposed to the time-worn methods of agitation. When the extremists demur to subscribe to the principle of self-government within the Empire as the goal of the Indian people, no loyal Indian can bring himself to associate with them in furthering the political progress of the country.

The congress.

G. C. DENHAM,
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OFFICE OF THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH,
7, KYD STREET,
The 25th December 1908.

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